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THE HIGHLAND PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Gerald C. Hickey

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PREFACE

This study of the montagnards of South Vietnam examines their needs and aspirations in relation to the policies of successive governments in Saigon. The Highlanders' strategic location in the present war makes it imperative for the central government to win their support. Various means to that end are discussed.

The Memorandum consists of a survey of 21 Highland ethnic groups and subgroups. Using standard anthropological techniques, the study draws on the small body of available literature on the Highlanders; on recent first-hand investigation in the field, including visits to villages of all 21 highland groups covered by the survey; on discussions with highland leaders; and on recent statistics and documents provided by GVN and American authorities in Saigon.

An earlier Memorandum by the same author provided a general introduction to the montagnards of South Vietnam. This was The Major Ethnic Groups of the South Vietnamese Highlands, RM-4041-ARPA, April 1964.

The author, Gerald C. Hickey, is an anthropologist and has been a research staff member of The RAND Corporation since the end of 1963. His experience of Vietnam antedates his association with RAND, and he has lived in that country almost continuously for six years. He is the author (with Frank M. LeBar and John K. Musgrave) of Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia, Human Relations Area Files Press, New York, 1964.

Author's Acknowledgments

The author wishes to express his gratitude to the Special Commission for Highland Affairs (GVN); the Summer Institute of Linguistics; the Advanced Research Projects Agency Field Unit in Saigon; the MAC/V advisory groups in I, II, and III Corps areas; and the USAID province representatives and their staffs.

SUMMARY

The "Highlanders," or montagnards, of South Vietnam, whose total number has been estimated at up to a million, are indigenous ethnic groups -- racially and linguistically distinct from the lowland Vietnamese -- who are dispersed throughout the upland areas, from the 17th Parallel southward to the Saigon plain, that is to say, over roughly two-thirds of the South Vietnamese land mass. In the past, these predominantly rural people have been removed from the centers of government, French or Vietnamese, by their geographic isolation, their inability to compete with the culturally more advanced Vietnamese, and a tribal economy that necessitated few contacts with the world beyond the village.

Since the founding of the Republic of Vietnam, however, the Highlanders' role and status have been changing. The French administration had found it expedient to let them cultivate their languages and customs and dispense their own form of justice in indigenous courts, and their connection with national institutions therefore had remained quite loose. The Diem government, by contrast, sought to assimilate and absorb them into Vietnamese society in ways that aroused the Highlanders' active discontent and thereby spawned unprecedented protest movements under a strong and vocal leadership. In recent years some of the most articulate highland spokesmen have been identified with a dissident movement known as FULRO (for "Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées," or "United Fighting Front of the Oppressed Races"), whose origins go back to 1958, when the Highlanders first rebelled against what they perceived as

a threat of cultural annihilation. Though the most active leaders of that abortive protest were jailed and the rest dispersed, some of them re-emerged in 1964 at the head of the newly founded FULRO organization, which first made itself felt by precipitating a revolt in five Civilian Indigenous Defense Group camps in Darlac, Quang Duc, and Pleiku provinces. Led among others by Y Bham Enuol, a Rhadé who had spent five years in jail for his part in the protest of 1958, FULRO subsequently addressed the central government in a series of written communications that spelled out the Highlanders' past grievances and future needs and desires, or aspirations, as they like to call it in French. In a series of conferences and sporadic negotiations with the government, the main points of FULRO's demands have been echoed by non-FULRO representatives of the Highlanders, notwithstanding the apparent political division between the two camps. Although the number of specific requests has been reduced from time to time, the essential ones remain unchanged: Highland leaders are seeking guarantees that the government will leave their people free to preserve their languages and customs while granting them opportunities for greater participation in the nation's political life and for more direct control over the administration of the highlands. FULRO, in addition, has outlined explicit social and economic programs for raising the level of highland society, and has emphasized, in particular, the right of Highlanders to hold clear title to the land they farm.

The Highlanders' strategic location in the present war makes it imperative for the central government to win their support. To do so, it must convince them that it

intends to satisfy their express needs and wishes and to let them become part of the national framework without threatening their cultural identity. This effort will call not only for well-defined policies but for concrete evidence of goodwill in the form of legislation and practical programs -- both short- and long-range -- some of which will require foreign aid. In return the Highlanders must support the GVN and assume the responsibilities of citizenship.

Though the GVN thus far has vacillated in its responsiveness to the Highlanders' demands, it has made some progress toward convincing them of its good faith. The most notable achievement to date has been the formation of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs (SCHA) in the central government and the appointment of a highland leader, Paul Nur, once jailed for his part in the 1958 revolt, to the post of Commissioner. The government also has launched various educational programs and has reactivated some of the Highland Law Courts, an institution that had flourished under the French but had been relegated to insignificance when the Diem regime introduced Vietnamese legal codes in the highlands. Recent GVN-FULRO talks have centered on the granting of guarantees that all future Vietnamese governments will honor a statut particulier, a "bill of rights" that would incorporate in a single document all agreements between the GVN and the Highlanders. The crucial matter of FULRO's support of the war effort may hinge on whether or not such assurances are promptly forthcoming.

The benefits that the GVN would reap from the active support of FULRO are many. Beyond the immediate acquisition of an estimated 3000 to 5000 armed men skilled in jungle warfare and familiar with the mountain terrain near Cambodia, it would greatly help the government's intelligence network

at the village level in areas where FULRO has much popular following. Also, evidence of FULRO's pro-GVN stand and of the government's willingness to let the Highlanders assume a larger role within the nation would lessen not only the chance of open discontent and protest but also the demand for autonomy and, most important, the Highlanders' susceptibility to the appeal of the Viet Cong, whose presence in the highlands would thus become increasingly untenable. Ultimately, of course, such a course of mutual accommodation would serve the important objective of weaving the various ethnic groups into the fabric of Vietnamese society, furthering their economic development, and thereby adding to the entire nation's political stability and economic prosperity.

This Memorandum, which offers a detailed description of the social and economic traditions and characteristics of twenty-one highland groups, with particular emphasis on local agricultural practices, sums up the various ways in which Highlanders have tried, in recent years, to achieve a greater measure of equality with the majority group and more direct participation in the nation's affairs. Having presented the problem in its historical, social, and economic complexity, and with due stress on the extent to which the GVN is already attempting to meet it, the author goes on to propose a variety of possible measures that would go far toward satisfying the Highlanders' stated aspirations and would benefit not only that important minority but the nation as a whole and the course of the present war.

To be able to devise the best possible programs, it is pointed out, the central authorities, and indeed all Lowlanders, must enlarge their knowledge about the Highlanders

and rid themselves of many current misconceptions. Radio programs and exhibits are among several readily feasible ways of familiarizing the Vietnamese with the Highlanders' social customs and agricultural practices, as well as with their music, folk tales, artifacts, and other cultural expressions.

Agriculture being virtually their sole means of livelihood, the highland people can improve their economic status only by advancing from their present tribal to a peasant economy, in which the raising of cash crops becomes a major pursuit rather than an incidental one, as it has been in the past. This will entail a considerable change in their pattern of life, as Highlanders will have to master new farming techniques, as well as marketing methods, the organization of transport, and, with the greater availability of cash and the consequent rise in the demand for consumer goods, at least the rudiments of economics and petty commerce. In the author's opinion, it would be well, wherever possible, to allow agricultural development to proceed within the existing framework, that is to say, to improve techniques already in use, and to turn traditional subsistence crops into cash crops, though this should not preclude experimentation with new crops.

The expansion of the educational system will be an integral part of this development, as wider primary schooling is needed to spread literacy among the highland people, while secondary schools must teach newly needed skills and techniques, and ready access to the universities is essential to training the future highland elite.

Another problem, whose solution is of crucial importance in any attempt to enhance the economic welfare of the

Highlanders and win their allegiance, is the as yet unsettled question of land tenure. Unequivocal legislation is needed to ensure the Highlander's right not only to enjoy the fruits of the land he farms but to hold clear title to it (and also to land that may be lying fallow at any given time as part of the "swidden" method of rotating cultivation). Studies of existing land-tenure systems in the various highland groups, as well as cadastral surveys of the areas, are essential preliminaries to satisfying the Highlanders' land claims. In line with some of the work begun by the Special Commission for Highland Affairs, the author suggests the forming of a Land Tenure Commission with authority to act. Another recommendation for a means of providing needed basic data on the highlands as well as a site for possible experimentation is the formation of a Center for Highlands Research similar to one in Thailand that is directed to the needs of the Hill Tribes there.

The Highland Law Courts authorized by the French, rendered obsolete by the Diem regime, and recently restored to active function in some of the provinces, should be slowly expanded, their competence carefully defined, and their number and level of operation kept commensurate with the number of available professional personnel. An important part of the task will be the training of more Highlanders competent to staff the courts and to compile highland law codes similar to the coutumiers prepared by some French administrators.

To meet the Highlanders' desire for greater representation in the central government, a beginning has been made with the formation of the Special Commission for

Highland Affairs. The Commission's functions and responsibilities remain to be more clearly defined and considerably expanded, and there is particular need for a program of specialized training for Commission members.

Despite past setbacks in the Highlanders' relationship with the Vietnamese government, the climate for resolving some major difficulties, in the author's opinion, is now favorable; it must be exploited promptly if future conflict is to be avoided.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
SUMMARY	v
Section	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Methodology	10
II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HIGHLAND POPULATION ..	13
Ethnolinguistic Classification	13
Population	22
III. NEEDS AND DESIRES EXPRESSED BY THE	
HIGHLANDERS	27
First Expressions of Needs and Desires	30
Current Expressions of the Highlanders'	
Aspirations	41
IV. SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE PLACE OF THE	
HIGHLANDERS IN THE NATIONAL FRAMEWORK ...	45
V. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS FOR THE	
HIGHLANDERS	49
Social Programs	49
A. Education	49
B. The Special Commission for Highland	
Affairs	62
C. Highland Law Courts	67
Economic Programs	75
A. Land Tenure	76
1. Traditional Land-Tenure Systems .	77
2. Land-Tenure Policy under the	
French	79
3. The GVN's Land-Tenure Policies ..	81
4. Cadastral Surveys	92
B. Agricultural Development	93
1. Swidden Agriculture	96
2. Wet-Rice Cultivation	98
3. Dry-Rice Cultivation	99
4. Secondary Crops	99
5. Cash Crops	100

C. Suggestions for the Successful Economic Development of the Highlands ..	102
1. A Research Center	102
2. Programs for Developing New Techniques and Skills	109

Appendix

A. ASPIRATIONS AND ENTREATIES OF HIGHLANDERS IN DARLAC PROVINCE: PRESENTED AT THE PLEIKU CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 16, 1964	115
B. ADDRESS PRESENTED BY MR. Y DHE ADRONG, THE CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FULRO (<u>FRONT UNIFIÉ DE LUTTE DES RACES OPPRIMÉES</u>), ON THE OCCASION OF THE HIGHLANDER-LOWLANDER SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE, PLEIKU, OCTOBER 17, 1966 .	121
C. STATISTICAL DATA ON HIGHLANDER, CHAM, KHMER, AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT SCHOOLS FOR THE YEAR 1966-1967	125
D. OUTLINE OF THE ACTION PROGRAM OF THE SPECIAL COMMISSION FOR HIGHLAND AFFAIRS	127
E. DECREE LAW NO. 006/65 (JULY 22, 1965) REORGANIZING HIGHLAND COMMON LAW COURTS IN THE CENTRAL VIETNAM HIGHLANDS	135
F. SURVEY OF LAND-TENURE SYSTEMS AND LIVELIHOOD PATTERNS OF TWENTY-ONE SOUTHERN HIGHLAND GROUPS	151
G. CIRCULAR NO. 16,601b-BCTNT/HC/TC 3	183
BIBLIOGRAPHY	189

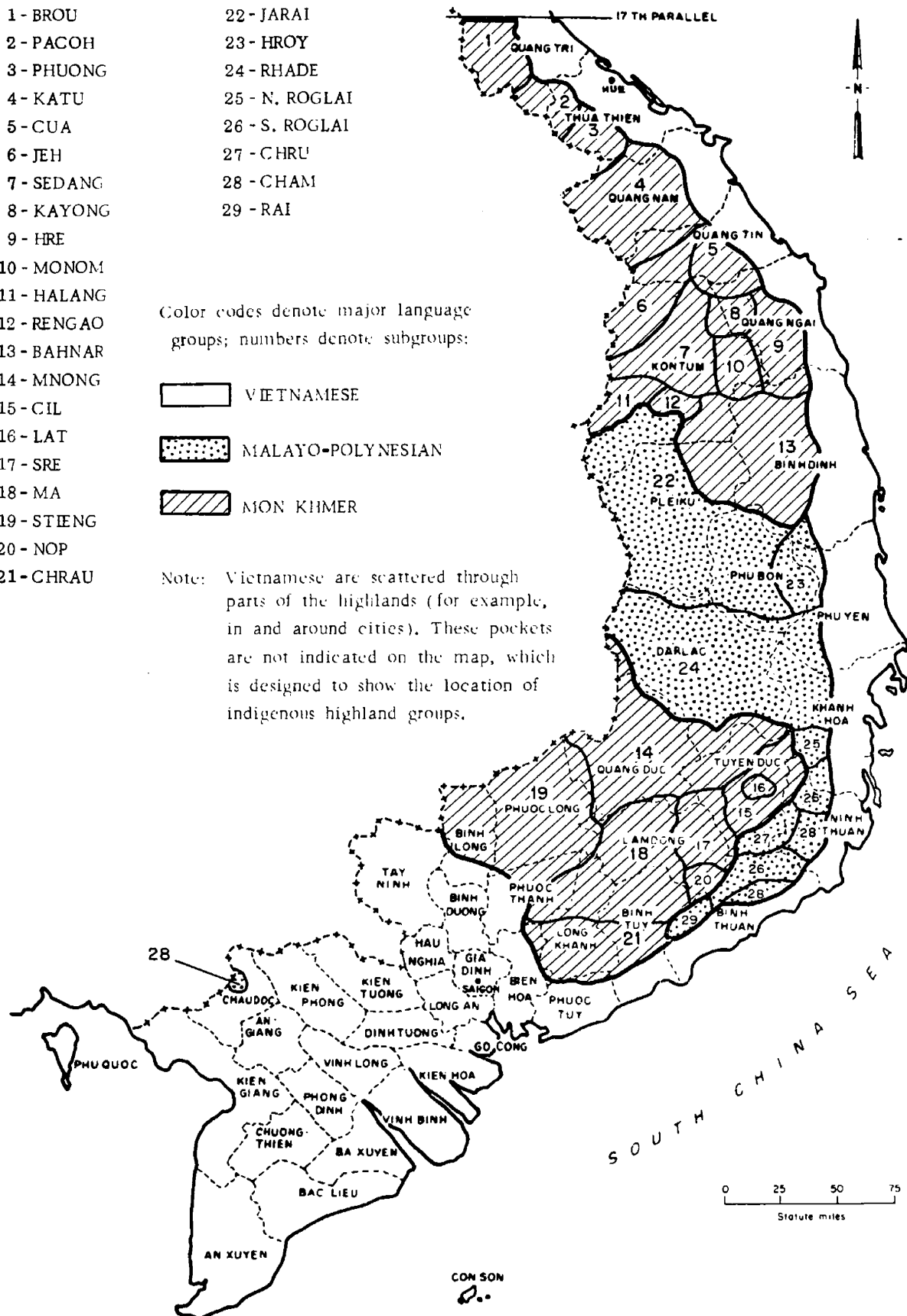
- 1 - BROU
- 2 - PACOH
- 3 - PHUONG
- 4 - KATU
- 5 - CUA
- 6 - JEH
- 7 - SEDANG
- 8 - KAYONG
- 9 - HRE
- 10 - MONOM
- 11 - HALANG
- 12 - RENGAO
- 13 - BAHNAR
- 14 - MNONG
- 15 - CIL
- 16 - LAT
- 17 - SRE
- 18 - MA
- 19 - STIENG
- 20 - NOP
- 21 - CHRAU

- 22 - JARAI
- 23 - HROY
- 24 - RHADE
- 25 - N. ROGLAI
- 26 - S. ROGLAI
- 27 - CHRU
- 28 - CHAM
- 29 - RAI

Color codes denote major language groups; numbers denote subgroups:

- VIETNAMESE
- MALAYO-POLYNESIAN
- MON KHMER

Note: Vietnamese are scattered through parts of the highlands (for example, in and around cities). These pockets are not indicated on the map, which is designed to show the location of indigenous highland groups.



ETHNO-LINGUISTIC GROUPS OF SOUTH VIETNAM

I. INTRODUCTION

This Memorandum is concerned primarily with the social and economic development of the South Vietnamese Highlanders. The collective term "Highlanders" designates those indigenous ethnic groups that occupy the upland areas from the 17th Parallel south to the Saigon plain, and are racially and linguistically distinct from the lowland Vietnamese.¹ An almost totally rural segment of the population (only a few refugees and military dependents are to be found in highland towns), the Highlanders are dispersed over an area that encompasses an estimated two-thirds of the South Vietnamese land mass. In the current war this is a strategic area, for it adjoins North Vietnam as well as Laos and Cambodia. The main infiltration routes for Viet Cong coming from North Vietnam pass through the highlands, which, moreover, have been the scene of most major military operations in 1965 and 1966.

There is general agreement among those concerned with the present conflict that the Government of South Vietnam (GVN), if it is to attain a stable peace, must gain the active support of the rural population. One of the greatest difficulties in achieving this end, however, is that of determining what programs and appeals will induce in the rural people attitudes favorable to the GVN.

¹These groups are known variously as moi (Vietnamese for "savage"), nguai thuong (Vietnamese for "highlander"), and montagnards (French for "highlanders" or "mountaineers"). Some French anthropologists call them "Proto-Indochinois" (Protoindochinese). This Memorandum refers to them as "Highlanders" throughout.

Since 1958, leaders have emerged among the Sedang, Bahnar, Jarai, Rhadé, Mhong, Sre, Ma, and Chru, and have welded themselves into a well-defined group. The immediate cause of this development was a threat to the Highlanders' cultural identity, the culmination of a long history of conflict between them and the Vietnamese, who consider the Highlanders backward and congenitally inferior, while the latter believe the Vietnamese to be aggressive, ruthless, and devious. With the formation of the Republic of South Vietnam, the Vietnamese for the first time assumed administrative responsibility for the highlands; it had been a Crown Domain, directly under Emperor Bao Dai, and even Vietnamese migration into the area had been severely restricted. Ngo Dinh Diem's policy was to assimilate the Highlanders into the Vietnamese culture and settle large numbers of Vietnamese in the highlands. It was this threat of cultural annihilation that spawned the new highland leadership and led to the protest of 1958. In retaliation, the most active leaders were jailed, some for as long as five years, and the rest were expelled from their native areas.

Most of these leaders, however, managed to maintain contact with one another. In September 1964 some of them emerged at the head of a new movement, the Front Unifié de Lutte des Races Opprimées (FULRO),² which

²Literally, "United Fighting Front of the Oppressed Races," this movement also has been known since then variously as The Movement for Liberation of DEGA-Chams (DEGA is the Rhadé designation for all Highlanders), and the Provisional Government of the DEGA-Cham High Plateaus. FULRO, however, has remained the commonly-used designation.

precipitated a revolt in five Civilian Indigenous Defense Group camps³ and threatened the town of Ban Me Thuot. Notable among these dissident leaders was Y Bham Enuol, a Rhadé who had spent five years in jail for his participation in the 1958 affair. In a number of written communications, the FULRO movement spelled out its grievances against the GVN as well as its demands and wishes. Essentially, its leaders sought guarantees that the Highlanders would be free to preserve their way of life, and asked for greater participation in the political life of the nation and for more direct control over the administration of the highlands. FULRO also outlined explicit social and economic programs, emphasizing particularly the right of Highlanders to hold clear title to land.

In October 1964 the government reacted to the revolt by calling a conference that gathered together most of the highland leaders outside the FULRO movement, and for the first time an open dialogue took place between Highlanders and the GVN. The highland delegates' requests were very similar to those contained in the FULRO communications. Premier Nguyen Khanh addressed the conference and promised to satisfy most of the demands submitted. Indeed, soon after the conference, legislation was passed abrogating a decree of the Diem regime that restricted the land ownership rights of

³The CIDG camps are part of a program organized by the Vietnamese and U.S. Special Forces wherein local civilians are recruited and trained as members of a local militia.

Highlanders, reestablishing the old Highland Law Courts, and permitting the teaching of highland languages in the primary schools. But implementation of the new laws was not forthcoming, partly as a result of political turmoil and partly because the government lacked the necessary motivation.

Notwithstanding the apparent division of highland leaders into the FULRO and the non-FULRO camps, the two groups actually maintained communication and were not far apart in their aims. In mid-1965 one non-FULRO leader summed up the situation by saying, "The aspirations of FULRO are the aspirations of all the highland people." When, in August 1965, the government of General Nguyen Cao Ky began negotiations with FULRO, dissident representatives in Ban Me Thuot kept in close touch with non-FULRO leaders. After these talks broke down in the late fall, there was a brief but violent second revolt, in December 1965, during which a FULRO unit temporarily captured Gia Nghia, the capital of Quang Duc Province, and FULRO elements in the Phu Thien District Regional Forces in Phu Bon Province slaughtered some thirty-five Vietnamese military and civilians.

In the course of 1966, the situation improved somewhat, as the GVN made some progress toward convincing Highlanders of its good faith. The most notable achievement was the formation of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs (SCHA). Paul Nur, a Bahnar leader who had been jailed in 1958, was named Commissioner, the highest position in the GVN ever attained by a Highlander. The government also has launched various educational

programs, and has reestablished the Highland Courts, for which it budgeted close to 6,000,000 VN\$. In May 1966, it resumed negotiations with FULRO, and these are continuing, with staff members of the SCHA serving as liaison between the GVN and Y Bham Enuol. The talks have centered on a statut particulier, a kind of "bill of rights" that would incorporate in a single document all the agreements made between the GVN and Highlanders. The Highlanders are asking for a firm, legal guarantee that the government will abide by this document at all times. If such assurance is forthcoming, FULRO very likely will give its support to the GVN; if it is not, we can expect future conflicts.

The FULRO movement has come to symbolize highland nationalism. Although it is not possible to estimate the number of its supporters among Highlanders, those familiar with the situation agree that FULRO's influence has spread to Kontum, Pleiku, Phu Bon, Darlac, Quang Duc, Lam Dong, and Tuyen Duc provinces. Significantly, this sphere of influence embraces some of the largest ethnic groups -- the Jarai, Rhadé, and Bahnar -- and also seems to coincide with the groups that have had the most formal education, such as the three large groups just named, the Sre, and the Chru. Personal experience of the author and others has shown that FULRO sympathies are deeply rooted among villagers in parts of Darlac, Phu Bon, and Tuyen Duc provinces. And U.S. military advisors point out that FULRO influence also is strong among highland

personnel in the Civilian Indigenous Defense Groups and in the Regional Forces.⁴

The benefits that the GVN would derive from gaining the active support of the FULRO are many. In the immediate future it would mean the acquisition of an estimated 3000 to 5000 armed men with considerable experience in jungle warfare and knowledge of terrain along the Cambodian border adjacent to Quang Duc, Darlac, and Pleiku provinces. It will greatly improve the government's intelligence network at the village level in areas where FULRO sympathies are deeply rooted.

Accommodation that would yield the government the direct support of the highland leaders would be the more desirable as these leaders command considerable following among large segments of the highland population, and their pro-GVN stand therefore would lessen not only the possibilities of open conflict, such as erupted in the 1964 and 1965 revolts, but also the desire for autonomy as the Highlanders assumed a larger role in the national framework. Moreover, with the growing political stability that such an accommodation would bring, the Viet Cong presence would become untenable in ever-larger parts of the highlands. Since the emergence of FULRO in 1964, the increased FULRO presence in the villages of Darlac Province has noticeably restricted Viet Cong infiltration and political influence.

⁴In the September 1964 revolt, the FULRO rebels were almost exclusively CIDG personnel; in the December 1965 uprising, they included many men from the Regional Forces.

Over and above these immediate and short-term benefits, such mutual understanding and support would serve the long-range objective of weaving the various ethnic groups into the fabric of Vietnamese society, furthering their economic development, and ensuring increasing political stability for the country.

The best way for the GVN to win the support of highland leaders is to convince them that it intends to satisfy the Highlanders' needs and desires and allow them to become a part of the national framework. Such a demonstration of good faith will entail well-defined policies toward the Highlanders, as expressed in legislation and in programs. Some of these measures and initiatives can be left to the GVN alone, while others will require foreign aid funds and other assistance from the outside. A good beginning has been made. It is very important, however, that action on such policies and programs be taken as soon as possible to avert the danger of future conflict. At present, the climate for resolving some of the difficulties is favorable, but there is no telling how long it will remain so.

Particularly is there a need for an explicit government policy -- perhaps one that should be stated in the constitution -- affirming the Highlanders' right to preserve their cultural identity. They must be allowed, if they so desire, to remain Highlanders in language and style of life, at the same time that they are learning the Vietnamese language and assuming the responsibilities associated with Vietnamese citizenship.

This need not mean that the Highlanders must remain isolated and immune to change; they will be exposed to social and economic innovations, partly through greater contact with the outside world and partly as a result of government programs which they themselves have indicated they want. The present Memorandum suggests a series of social and economic programs⁵ that would go far toward meeting many of the Highlanders' aspirations. Such programs, though aimed at satisfying immediate needs, should be planned with a long view; some will take at least fifty years to realize. They also should be related to one another as various aspects of a grand design. Educational programs, for example, ought to be geared to the growing needs associated with social and economic development. They will be of central importance in producing the future highland elite as well as a literate peasantry, and they should be designed so as to impart the many and varied skills requisite to agricultural development. As the Highlanders move from a tribal economy, wherein they produce primarily subsistence crops, to the peasant level, which involves cultivating extensive cash crops as well, they must be taught improved farming techniques, marketing methods, the organization of efficient transport, and the techniques of small business.

This report emphasizes the need for more knowledge of highland societies if the government is to plan efficacious programs. Projects formulated on the strength of the present limited information and based on ethnocentric

⁵Military and medical programs are not included.

values alien to the Highlanders can only lead to disruption and waste. The kind of information that is needed is illustrated by the ethnographic materials gathered in the course of the author's field work and cited below in his discussion of various aspects of social and economic development. At the present time, too many misconceptions about highland economic activities and inadequate knowledge about swidden agriculture⁶ make it impossible to conceptualize a meaningful program for increased agricultural production in the highlands.

Finally, this Memorandum includes a variety of data and documents that should make it a useful reference tool. In addition to statistics and descriptive detail on the land tenure and economic activities of twenty-one highland ethnic groups,⁷ it contains some information on agriculture as practiced among upland groups in the Philippines and Thailand, which furnish useful comparisons. The discussion of the Highlanders' express needs and desires and of GVN programs is supplemented in the

⁶This form of agriculture is also known variously as slash-and-burn, primitive horticulture, field-forest rotation, shifting-field agriculture, and brand tillage, as well as by such local names as ray (the term used in most French and Vietnamese literature on the highlands of Vietnam). The revived English dialect word swidden for "burned clearing" has been favored in recent works by Conklin, Izikowitz, and others. It is an appropriate general designation not linked to any particular region, and it can be used as a noun.

⁷Listed in alphabetic order, these twenty-one groups are the Bahnar, Brou, Chrau, Chru, Cil, Cua, Halang, Hre, Jarai, Jeh, Katu, Lat, Ma, Mnong, Pacoh, Rengao, Rhadé, Roglai, Sedang, Sre, and Stieng.

Appendixes by translations of documents, laws, and legislative proposals, both official and unofficial, that bear on the present demands and the evolving status of the Highlanders.

METHODOLOGY

In his field work for this study, which began in March 1965, the author used a variety of standard anthropological techniques. He visited villages of all twenty-one groups included in his investigation, and thus was able to observe economic activities as well as behavioral aspects of their life and to meet some of their leaders. In a number of groups, security allowed him to remain in a village for several days; with most others, it was possible to stay in a nearby small town or Special Forces camp and visit villages during daylight hours. Thanks to the hospitality of the Highlanders, the author participated in numerous meals and ritual celebrations, so that much discussion took place in an informal, convivial atmosphere.

Of the numerous interviews conducted with highland leaders, some of those with non-FULRO leaders took place during the periodic conferences mentioned above, as well as on visits to district and province capitals throughout the highlands. The author also talked frequently and at length with heads of the Directorate for Highland Affairs and the more recently organized Special Commission for Highland Affairs. His presence in Ban Me Thuot during the September 1964 revolt, at the request of Ambassador

Maxwell Taylor and General William Westmoreland, enabled him to meet with some of the FULRO dissidents. He later interviewed FULRO representatives who were present in Ban Me Thuot during the negotiations of 1965 and 1966.

Interviews with some villagers and local leaders were conducted in French or Vietnamese. In others, the author used interpreters who spoke a highland language and either French or Vietnamese; at Gia Vuc and Ba To in Quang Ngai Province, for example, he had Hre-speaking Vietnamese interpreters. Long discussions with informants also were made possible by the linguistic assistance of a group of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who have been conducting structural linguistic research on many of the Mon Khmer languages and speak those languages fluently, and of members of the Christian Mission Alliance who also are familiar with highland languages.

The variety of documentary materials used in the present study includes some ethnographic information taken from French monographs on the Highlanders and data from several unpublished French sources. Works dealing with the agricultural practices of upland groups in the Philippines and Thailand proved relevant and useful in the discussions related to the author's recommendations. Translations of pertinent GVN legislation and of various statistics on education were supplied by the Highland Affairs Office in the Operations Division of USAID, Saigon. The Special Commission for Highland Affairs also supplied valuable data. Finally, as a member of the Mission Council Subcommittee for Highland Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, the author had access to some

unclassified documents used in this Memorandum. As regards logistical support and similar assistance, these were provided by the Advanced Research Projects Administration (ARPA) Field Unit in Saigon, as well as by MAC/V AND USAID.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HIGHLAND POPULATION

ETHNOLINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

South Vietnam is a plural culture, a national entity encompassing a variety of ethnolinguistic groups. The Vietnamese constitute the majority group, and three minority groups can be distinguished. Of these, the Cham, who are scattered through the Phan Rang-Phan Ri area of the central coastal region and along the Cambodian border near Chau Doc and Tay Ninh, are remnants of a once-numerous Malayo-Polynesian-speaking people who dominated the kingdom of Champa, which declined in the fifteenth century. The Khmer, an indigenous Mon Khmer-speaking group, are dispersed throughout the Mekong River Delta. Having once been part of the Khmer empire, they have close linguistic and cultural ties to the Cambodians. The third and largest of the minorities consists of the many and diverse ethnic groups that occupy the upland areas of South Vietnam and are collectively known as the Highlanders.¹ Linguistically, the Highlanders can be broadly divided into two stocks, the Malayo-Polynesian and Mon Khmer. Any narrower identification and classification of these ethnic groups would raise basic anthropological and linguistic problems whose solution would require considerable field research followed by painstaking comparisons.

¹Since 1954, some North Vietnamese Highlanders have settled in the highlands of South Vietnam. They include the Nung, White Tai, Black Tai, Tho, Muong, Yao (also called the Man), and Meo. These groups are not part of the present study.

The first question in studying these highland people is the seemingly simple one of what should be considered the proper or standard name for a given ethnic group. The members of such a group do not necessarily use a collective name; in the central highlands, for example, many of the Katu simply call themselves and their neighbors by the names of the villages from which they come. Where collective names do exist, the members of a group will frequently use a name other than the one by which their neighbors describe them, and outsiders will use still a different name. Thus, it is common for members to refer to themselves as "the men" or "the people," and for their neighbors to call them by another name, often pejorative. The Mhong Gar, for example, are known to surrounding groups as the "Gar" but speak of themselves as "phii bree" or "men of the forest." Outsiders -- French, Vietnamese, or Americans -- usually adopt either the name of the group itself or the one used for it by its neighbors. In some instances, the name most widely used is a generic term covering a number of ethnic groups. Finally, discrepancies arise from the different ways in which names are transcribed, particularly by outsiders. The Ede, as they call themselves, became Rhadé in the French transcription. This, in turn, is sometimes Americanized to Raday, and the Vietnamese frequently write it as Rade.

The names used in this Memorandum are those most likely to be found in the literature and on maps. Where names are not yet well established (this is especially true of subgroups), it has been deemed best to adopt the designation used by the first investigator. In many of these instances, recent research by the staff of the Summer

Institute of Linguistics (SIL) has suggested minor changes in spelling to approximate more closely the native form of the name; thus, Bru has been changed to Brou, Raglai becomes Roglai, and so forth.

Ethnic classification poses a more complicated problem. Just as in American society, for example, the accent and some of the social institutions of Vermont differ from those of Mississippi, so in Vietnam as in the United States such linguistic and cultural variations do not necessarily point to there being more than one ethnic group. South Vietnam presents an ethnolinguistic mosaic in which, however, the different languages and cultures are not sharply delineated but tend to shade into each other, thus making it difficult in many cases to decide where boundaries between ethnic groups should be drawn. French investigators, for example, have not been able to agree on whether the Rengao are a subgroup of the Bahnar, a mixed Bahnar-Sedang people, or a group apart from either. In the highlands, ethnological and linguistic research is having to be conducted under conditions that are far from ideal, and the classifications and ethnolinguistic mapping contained in this report are therefore only tentative.²

Following is an annotated alphabetical listing of ethnic groups in the South Vietnamese highlands. The information included in it is derived from mimeographed listings provided by the SIL (1966), from the author's own ethnographic survey (part of an ongoing research project),

²The Frontispiece of this Memorandum shows the location of the main ethnic groups and the boundaries of the major linguistic areas of Vietnam.

and from the work of LeBar, Hickey, and Musgrave, Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia (Human Relations Area Files Press, New Haven, 1964).

Bahnar: The SIL, on whose research all the linguistic classifications herein are based, places the Bahnar language in the Northern Bahnaric subgroup of the Mon Khmer stock. Guilleminet reports a number of subgroups: Alakong, Tolo, Bonom, Golar, To Sung, Jo Long, Kontum, Ho Drong, Krem, Kon Ko De.³ He considers the Rengao a Bahnar subgroup, although research by the SIL group and the author points to their being a separate group. The Bonom (also called Monom) likewise appear to be separate, whereas the Ho Drong are a Jarai subgrouping. Guilleminet considers the Hroy a subgroup of the Bahnar, but others disagree.⁴

Brou: Also known as Bru, Baroo, Muong Leung, Kalo, Khua, Tri, Leu, Mangoong, and Van Kieu, the Brou speak a language of the Katuic subgroup in the Mon Khmer stock.

Chrau: This group also is known as Jro and Ro. SIL investigators report that subgroupings are the Jro, Dor, Prang, Mro, Voqwaq, Vajieng, Chalah, and Chalun. Their language is Southern Bahnaric of the Mon Khmer stock.

Chru: The Chru speak a language of the Malayo-Polynesian stock. They also are known as Churu, Cado, and sometimes Chrau.

³Paul P. Guilleminet, "Recherches sur les croyances des tribus du Haut-Pays d'Annam, les Bahnar du Kontum et leurs voisins, les magiciens," Institut Indochinois pour l'Etude de l'Homme, Bulletins et Travaux, Vol. 4, Hanoi, 1941, pp. 12-13; and Coutumier de la tribu Bahnar des Sedang et des Jarai (de la province de Kontum), Publications of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 32, Paris, 1952, pp. 7-8.

⁴See the separate listing for the Hroy, below.

Cil: This group also is known as the Chil, Kil, and Mnong Kil or Mnong Cil. They speak a language of the Koho grouping, which is part of the Stiengan subgrouping of the Mon Khmer stock.

Cua: SIL reports that this group is also known as the Kor, Traw, and Bong Mieu, and that sometimes a distinction is made between those who live in the foothills -- the Traw and Dong -- and those at higher elevations -- the Kol, Dot, and Yot. Their language is of the Northern Bahnaric subgroup of the Mon Khmer stock.

Duan(?): The existence of this group is not well established and consequently is not marked on the author's ethnolinguistic map. Condominas makes only passing reference to them, describing them as being located in the northwestern part of Kontum Province.⁵

Halang: The Halang are also known as the Koyong. They speak a language that is classified as Northern Bahnaric in the Mon Khmer stock.

Hre: The Hre are also known as the Davak, Davach, and Da Vach, with subgroups reported to be the Rabah (Tava), Creq (Kare), and Taliang. Their language is Northern Bahnaric of the Mon Khmer stock.

Hroy: Guilleminet considers the Hroy (whom he refers to as the Cam) a subgroup of the Bahnar.⁶ Various other sources have called them the Bahnar Cham, and Phillips believes them to be a separate Malayo-Polynesian-speaking group.⁷

⁵ Louis Condominas, "Notes sur les Mois du haut Song Tranh," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Vol. 26, Saigon, 1951, pp. 13-38.

⁶ Coutumier de la tribu Bahnar, p. 7.

⁷ R. Phillips, "Map of Ethnic Groups in the Highlands of South Vietnam," 1962 (unpublished).

Jarai: French writers often spell this name Djarai. Lafont reports that subgroups of this Malayo-Polynesian-speaking group are the Arap, Habau, Hodrung, Sesan, Chu Ty, and Peli Kly.⁸ Other reported subgroupings are the Puan and Hrue. According to this author's own findings, there are, in addition to those reported by Lafont, the Jarai Cheo Reo and the Mdhur.

Jeh: This group is also known as Die and Yeh, and subgroupings reported by the SIL are the Jeh Perak, Jeh Brilar, Dram, and the Langya. Their language is Northern Bahnaric of the Mon Khmer stock.

Kalop(?): This is reported to be one of the Koho-speaking groups of the Mon Khmer language stock, but not enough information is available to prove its existence as a separate ethnic group.

Katu: This group is also known as Teu, Attouat, Kao, Khat, Thap, Nguon Ta, Ta River Van Kieu, Phuong Katu, Kato, and Ka-Tu. Their language belongs to the Katuic group of the Mon Khmer stock.

Kayong: Also called Ca-Rong, Koyong, Kagiuong, Ca Giong, and Tatang, this group speaks a language that appears to be close to Cua, a Northern Bahnaric language of the Mon Khmer stock. Present research suggests that the Kayon may be a subgroup of the Cua.

Laya(?): This group is reported to speak one of the languages collectively referred to as Koho, of the Southern Bahnaric group of the Mon Khmer stock. We lack sufficient data to prove the actual existence of the Laya as a distinct ethnic group.

⁸ Pierre-Bernard Lafont, Toloi Djuat: Coutumier de la tribu Jarai, Publications of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, 1963, p. 11.

Ma: Sometimes spelled Maa, these are also known as Cau Ma. Reported subgroupings include the Ma To, Ma Ro, and Ma Sop (also known as Cho To, Cho Ro, and Cho Sop, and considered by Phillips and some others as a separate group). The language of the Ma is of the Koho group of the Mon Khmer stock.

Mnong: The findings of the SIL indicate that the Mnong encompass a number of subgroupings: The Nong, Dreh, Bunor, Bu Rung, Bu Prang, Bu Non Dih Bri, and Rohong all are located in Quang Duc Province; in Darlac Province there are the Kwenh, Rolom (Lam), Gar, and, according to SIL, the Cil. (The present author's research points to the Cil as a separate ethnic group.) Condominas reports that the Mnong Gar refer to themselves as the phii bree or "men of the forest."⁹ Mnong is classified linguistically as Southern Bahnaric of the Mon Khmer stock.

Monam: Known also as Bonom and Menam, Monam speak a language that is of the Northern Bahnaric group of the Mon Khmer stock.

Nop: This group is also known as Noup and To Lop. The author's investigation shows the Nop to be a distinct ethnic group. Their language is of the Koho group of the Mon Khmer stock.

Pacoh: SIL researchers report that this group is also known as the Bo River Van Kieu, and that one of its subgroupings is the Pahi. The Pacoh language belongs to the Katuic group of the Mon Khmer stock.

Phuong: SIL staff members have identified this relatively small group, also known as the Huu River Van Kieu, whose language is of the Katuic group in the Mon Khmer stock.

⁹ Georges Condominas, Nous avons mangé la forêt, Paris, 1957, pp. 13-19.

Rai: The Rai sometimes are called Seyu. Their language is Malayo-Polynesian.

Rengao: This group is referred to also as Reungao and Rongao. There has been some disagreement as to whether the Rengao constitute an ethnic group separate from either the Sedang or the Bahnar. Kemlin treats the "Reungao" as a subgrouping of the Bahnar,¹⁰ as does Guilleminet.¹¹ Devereux considers the Rengao a mixed Sedang-Bahnar group.¹² SIL research suggests that among the subgroupings are the Rengao Homong, Kon Hongo, Sedang-Rengao, and Bahnar Rengao. Their language is Northern Bahnaric of the Mon Khmer stock.

Rhadé: This group is known as Rade, Raday, Rde, and Ede, but the French transcription, Rhadé, is the one found most frequently in the literature. Jouin reports the following subgroups: M'dur, A'dham, K'tul, Epan, Blo, K'ah, K'drao, H'wing, and Bih.¹³ In the present Memorandum, the author's research has led him to classify the Krung (whom some consider a separate group) as a subgroup of the Rhadé. The Rhadé language is of the Malayo-Polynesian stock.

Rion(?): Thomas reports the existence of this group, which he calls the Rien, whose language is of the Koho group of the Mon Khmer stock.¹⁴ There is not enough information about them to prove that the Rion are a distinct ethnic group.

¹⁰J. E. Kemlin, "Alliances chez les Reungao," Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 17, Hanoi, Saigon, Paris, 1917, pp. 1-119.

¹¹"Recherches," pp. 12-13; and Coutumier de la tribu Bahnar, pp. 7-8.

¹²G. Devereux, "Functioning Units in Ha(rh)ndea(ng) Society," Primitive Man, Vol. 10, Washington, D.C., 1937, p. 1.

¹³B. Jouin, La mort et la tombe: l'abandon de la tombe, Institut d'Ethnologie, Paris, 1949, pp. 132-193.

¹⁴D. Thomas, "Mon-Khmer Subgroupings in Vietnam," Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota, 1962 (mimeographed), p. 6.

Roglai: According to the SIL, these are also known as the Radlai, Adlai, Raglai, and Orang Glai. They are divided into the Northern Roglai, found in the uplands west and south of Nhatrang and below Dalat, and the Southern Roglai, who live in Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan provinces. A third, little-known, and smaller grouping sometimes called the Cac Gia inhabits an area northeast of Phan Rang. Roglai is a Malayo-Polynesian language.

Sedang: This group is also known as Hadang, Hoteang, Rotea, and Hotea. Devereux cites the name as Ha(rh)ndea(ng).¹⁵ SIL investigators report some subgroupings -- the Daksut Sedang, Kon Horing Sedang, Kotua (Mangbuk) -- and Devereux lists as another subgrouping the Danja. The Sedang language is classified as Northern Bahnaric of the Mon Khmer stock.

Sop(?): Bourotte describes this group as living on the Dong Nai (Donnai) River in what is now Lam Dong Province.¹⁶ Their language is of the Koho group in the Mon Khmer stock. There is not enough evidence, however, to show that the Sop should be classified as a distinct ethnic group.

Sre: Sometimes called the Cau Sre, they speak a language belonging to the Koho group in the Mon Khmer stock. The author's findings indicate that the Sre can be considered a distinct ethnic group.

Stieng: According to SIL investigators, the Stieng are subdivided into the Bulach, Budip, and Bulu; their language is of the Southern Bahnaric group of the Mon Khmer stock.

¹⁵"Functioning Units," pp. 1-2.

¹⁶Bernard Bourotte, "Essai d'histoire des populations montagnards du Sud-Indochinois jusqu'à 1945," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Vol. 30, Saigon, 1955.

Takua(?): This group reportedly is known also as Kotua, Duan (possibly a confusion with the group already noted), Quang Tin Katu, and Langya, designations which SIL investigators describe as tentative. The language of the Takua would be of the Northern Bahnaric group in the Mon Khmer stock. Available evidence does not permit their being classified as a distinct ethnic group.

Tala(?): The Tala are reported to speak a Koho language of the Mon Khmer stock. More information is needed to show whether they are ethnically separate or a subgroup of another group.

Todra(?): Also known as Didrah, Kodra, and Podra, the Todra speak a language reported by the SIL to be of the Northern Bahnaric group in the Mon Khmer stock. Further ethnographic research is needed to determine the classification of the Todra.

Tring(?): Phillips' ethnic map places the Tring east of Dalat in Tuyen Duc Province. Their language is of the Koho group in the Mon Khmer stock. More ethnographic information is needed to show whether the Tring are a separate group or a subgroup.

POPULATION

No complete population census has ever been conducted in the highlands. The figures on Table 1 therefore represent only estimates from various sources. First, there are the official figures released by the Special Commission for Highland Affairs. The only estimates to be broken down by province, they are based on figures reported to provincial officials in 1965. The unofficial figures given in this table were gathered from a variety of sources. Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics furnished estimates they had arrived at in the course of their field research

among a number of the highland groups. Missionaries in the highlands also contributed figures, and the author provided estimates received from local authorities and local highland leaders. These estimates, like the official figures, were compiled in 1965. FULRO's figures for 1966 were released by Mr. Y Dhe Adrong, head of the FULRO delegation that negotiated with the GVN and participated in the Highlander-Lowlander Solidarity Conference held in Pleiku in mid-October 1966. The government figures are markedly lower than those in the other categories: Whereas the official total is 642,855, the unofficial estimates run to 927,000, and the FULRO figure is 842,635.

Table 1
ESTIMATES OF HIGHLAND ETHNIC GROUPS BY REGIONS AND PROVINCES

SOURCE: NATIONAL CENSUS FOR HIGHLAND AFFAIRS		1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	2050	2055	2060	2065	2070	2075	2080	2085	2090	2095	2100	2105	2110	2115	2120	2125	2130	2135	2140	2145	2150	2155	2160	2165	2170	2175	2180	2185	2190	2195	2200	2205	2210	2215	2220	2225	2230	2235	2240	2245	2250	2255	2260	2265	2270	2275	2280	2285	2290	2295	2300	2305	2310	2315	2320	2325	2330	2335	2340	2345	2350	2355	2360	2365	2370	2375	2380	2385	2390	2395	2400	2405	2410	2415	2420	2425	2430	2435	2440	2445	2450	2455	2460	2465	2470	2475	2480	2485	2490	2495	2500	2505	2510	2515	2520	2525	2530	2535	2540	2545	2550	2555	2560	2565	2570	2575	2580	2585	2590	2595	2600	2605	2610	2615	2620	2625	2630	2635	2640	2645	2650	2655	2660	2665	2670	2675	2680	2685	2690	2695	2700	2705	2710	2715	2720	2725	2730	2735	2740	2745	2750	2755	2760	2765	2770	2775	2780	2785	2790	2795	2800	2805	2810	2815	2820	2825	2830	2835	2840	2845	2850	2855	2860	2865	2870	2875	2880	2885	2890	2895	2900	2905	2910	2915	2920	2925	2930	2935	2940	2945	2950	2955	2960	2965	2970	2975	2980	2985	2990	2995	3000	3005	3010	3015	3020	3025	3030	3035	3040	3045	3050	3055	3060	3065	3070	3075	3080	3085	3090	3095	3100	3105	3110	3115	3120	3125	3130	3135	3140	3145	3150	3155	3160	3165	3170	3175	3180	3185	3190	3195	3200	3205	3210	3215	3220	3225	3230	3235	3240	3245	3250	3255	3260	3265	3270	3275	3280	3285	3290	3295	3300	3305	3310	3315	3320	3325	3330	3335	3340	3345	3350	3355	3360	3365	3370	3375	3380	3385	3390	3395	3400	3405	3410	3415	3420	3425	3430	3435	3440	3445	3450	3455	3460	3465	3470	3475	3480	3485	3490	3495	3500	3505	3510	3515	3520	3525	3530	3535	3540	3545	3550	3555	3560	3565	3570	3575	3580	3585	3590	3595	3600	3605	3610	3615	3620	3625	3630	3635	3640	3645	3650	3655	3660	3665	3670	3675	3680	3685	3690	3695	3700	3705	3710	3715	3720	3725	3730	3735	3740	3745	3750	3755	3760	3765	3770	3775	3780	3785	3790	3795	3800	3805	3810	3815	3820	3825	3830	3835	3840	3845	3850	3855	3860	3865	3870	3875	3880	3885	3890	3895	3900	3905	3910	3915	3920	3925	3930	3935	3940	3945	3950	3955	3960	3965	3970	3975	3980	3985	3990	3995	4000	4005	4010	4015	4020	4025	4030	4035	4040	4045	4050	4055	4060	4065	4070	4075	4080	4085	4090	4095	4100	4105	4110	4115	4120	4125	4130	4135	4140	4145	4150	4155	4160	4165	4170	4175	4180	4185	4190	4195	4200	4205	4210	4215	4220	4225	4230	4235	4240	4245	4250	4255	4260	4265	4270	4275	4280	4285	4290	4295	4300	4305	4310	4315	4320	4325	4330	4335	4340	4345	4350	4355	4360	4365	4370	4375	4380	4385	4390	4395	4400	4405	4410	4415	4420	4425	4430	4435	4440	4445	4450	4455	4460	4465	4470	4475	4480	4485	4490	4495	4500	4505	4510	4515	4520	4525	4530	4535	4540	4545	4550	4555	4560	4565	4570	4575	4580	4585	4590	4595	4600	4605	4610	4615	4620	4625	4630	4635	4640	4645	4650	4655	4660	4665	4670	4675	4680	4685	4690	4695	4700	4705	4710	4715	4720	4725	4730	4735	4740	4745	4750	4755	4760	4765	4770	4775	4780	4785	4790	4795	4800	4805	4810	4815	4820	4825	4830	4835	4840	4845	4850	4855	4860	4865	4870	4875	4880	4885	4890	4895	4900	4905	4910	4915	4920	4925	4930	4935	4940	4945	4950	4955	4960	4965	4970	4975	4980	4985	4990	4995	5000	5005	5010	5015	5020	5025	5030	5035	5040	5045	5050	5055	5060	5065	5070	5075	5080	5085	5090	5095	5100	5105	5110	5115	5120	5125	5130	5135	5140	5145	5150	5155	5160	5165	5170	5175	5180	5185	5190	5195	5200	5205	5210	5215	5220	5225	5230	5235	5240	5245	5250	5255	5260	5265	5270	5275	5280	5285	5290	5295	5300	5305	5310	5315	5320	5325	5330	5335	5340	5345	5350	5355	5360	5365	5370	5375	5380	5385	5390	5395	5400	5405	5410	5415	5420	5425	5430	5435	5440	5445	5450	5455	5460	5465	5470	5475	5480	5485	5490	5495	5500	5505	5510	5515	5520	5525	5530	5535	5540	5545	5550	5555	5560	5565	5570	5575	5580	5585	5590	5595	5600	5605	5610	5615	5620	5625	5630	5635	5640	5645	5650	5655	5660	5665	5670	5675	5680	5685	5690	5695	5700	5705	5710	5715	5720	5725	5730	5735	5740	5745	5750	5755	5760	5765	5770	5775	5780	5785	5790	5795	5800	5805	5810	5815	5820	5825	5830	5835	5840	5845	5850	5855	5860	5865	5870	5875	5880	5885	5890	5895	5900	5905	5910	5915	5920	5925	5930	5935	5940	5945	5950	5955	5960	5965	5970	5975	5980	5985	5990	5995	6000	6005	6010	6015	6020	6025	6030	6035	6040	6045	6050	6055	6060	6065	6070	6075	6080	6085	6090	6095	6100	6105	6110	6115	6120	6125	6130	6135	6140	6145	6150	6155	6160	6165	6170	6175	6180	6185	6190	6195	6200	6205	6210	6215	6220	6225	6230	6235	6240	6245	6250	6255	6260	6265	6270	6275	6280	6285	6290	6295	6300	6305	6310	6315	6320	6325	6330	6335	6340	6345	6350	6355	6360	6365	6370	6375	6380	6385	6390	6395	6400	6405	6410	6415	6420	6425	6430	6435	6440	6445	6450	6455	6460	6465	6470	6475	6480	6485	6490	6495	6500	6505	6510	6515	6520	6525	6530	6535	6540	6545	6550	6555	6560	6565	6570	6575	6580	6585	6590	6595	6600	6605	6610	6615	6620	6625	6630	6635	6640	6645	6650	6655	6660	6665	6670	6675	6680	6685	6690	6695	6700	6705	6710	6715	6720	6725	6730	6735	6740	6745	6750	6755	6760	6765	6770	6775	6780	6785	6790	6795	6800	6805	6810	6815	6820	6825	6830	6835	6840	6845	6850	6855	6860	6865	6870	6875	6880	6885	6890	6895	6900	6905	6910	6915	6920	6925	6930	6935	6940	6945	6950	6955	6960	6965	6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III. NEEDS AND DESIRES EXPRESSED BY THE HIGHLANDERS

At the end of the nineteenth century, having brought most of the highlands under their control, the French proceeded to set up an administrative system in the highland area. The largest administrative units, the provinces, were divided into districts, some of which were further divided into cantons. Villages, the smallest administrative units, retained their traditional leadership. Once established, the French system found acceptance. Though some of the older highland leaders recall that they resented and resisted the demands for corvée labor for roadbuilding, they concede that by and large the French left them alone, and indeed protected them against the Vietnamese, as the policy of the French was to restrict Vietnamese migration into the highlands. Thus, in 1925, at the beginning of the rush for land on which to establish plantations in the highlands, the able French administrator L. Sabatier sent a report to his government pointing out that, since contact with the Vietnamese had always been harmful to the Highlanders, it would be preferable to import Javanese coolies to labor on the new plantations.

In 1954, at the time of the Geneva Agreements, the highlands had the status of a Crown Domain (domaine de la couronne) directly under the control of Emperor Bao Dai. Subsequently when the Republic of South Vietnam was formed and the government of Ngo Dinh Diem assumed control of the highlands, the Vietnamese for the first time became responsible for administering the area. There was little to prepare them for this task. They had suffered from a shortage

of administrative talent in the lowlands, and the more remote highlands held no lure for their civil servants. More important, the Vietnamese were unfamiliar with the Highlanders and their ways. Their common designation for these dark-skinned people, who spoke strange languages, wore hardly any clothes, and did such bizarre things as filing their teeth, was moi (the Vietnamese word for "savage"). Most Vietnamese believed the Highlanders to be racially inferior to themselves.¹

Total assimilation of the Highlanders in the Vietnamese cultural sphere was the unwritten policy of the Diem government, which issued decrees and instituted practices designed to impose on the Highlanders the social institutions and cultural traits of the Vietnamese. From the GVN's point of view, this was to be a civilizing process; but to the Highlanders it was an attempt to destroy their traditional way of life and their cultural identity.

Moreover, the government ignored the Highlanders' claims in its Land Development Program, which sought to resettle lowland Vietnamese by giving them land in the highlands, and in the Highland Resettlement plan, under which Highlanders were forced off their ancestral land and into "reservations." Two decrees, in 1958 and 1959, deprived Highlanders of the right to own the land they farmed. The

¹The North Vietnamese government, in assuming administrative control of the northern highlands, had the advantage over the South Vietnamese government of dealing with people who were racially akin to the Vietnamese, and who by Vietnamese standards were relatively advanced. Also, they benefitted by the long history of cultural contact between the northern Highlanders and the Vietnamese.

Highland Law Courts established by the French to arbitrate disputes among Highlanders were relegated to insignificance as Vietnamese legal codes were introduced for the first time. Instruction in highland languages was banned under the Diem regime, highland place names gave way to Vietnamese designations, and highland military personnel had to adopt Vietnamese names. In addition to such general legislation, local administrators set policies of their own. A province chief in Darlac forbade the Rhadé to enter Ban Me Thuot wearing their traditional loin cloths, and required them to be dressed in shirt and trousers. In Pleiku, a province chief ordered Jarai refugees to build their new houses on the ground, Vietnamese style, rather than on piling as was their custom.

Early in 1958, as a result of these measures, a group of highland leaders from Kontum, Pleiku, Darlac, and Tuyen Duc provinces formed the "Bajaraka" Movement.² In May, they organized a special committee, which was to carry their complaints to the GVN. They drew up a request for a "Special Charter" that would give the Highlanders greater autonomy, and transmitted it to President Diem in September. On September 9, they called for a general strike in Ban Me Thuot, and a five-hour demonstration resulted. On September 15, Security Police arrested all seven of the leaders: Y Bham Enuol (Rhadé), Paul Nur (Bahnar), Nay Luett (Jarai), Y Ju Eban (Rhadé), Touneh Yoh (Chru), Siu Sipp (Jarai), and Y Thih Eban (Rhadé).³

²The name is a combination of the key letters in Bahnar, Jarai, Rhadé, and Koho.

³Today, Y Bham Enuol is leader of the FULRO movement; Paul Nur is Commissioner for Highland Affairs in the GVN; Nay Luett is in charge of Special Projects in the Commission for Highland Affairs; Touneh Yoh is Deputy District

Outraged by the Highlanders' action, President Diem ordered the Highland Students' Section of the National Institute of Administration (NIA) abolished, and between 1958 and 1964 no Highlanders were admitted to the school that trains young citizens for government service. Highland civil servants were dispersed throughout the lowlands. And the government requisitioned all crossbows, the traditional highland hunting weapon, for fear that these would be used in a revolt.

FIRST EXPRESSIONS OF NEEDS AND DESIRES

Six of the seven highland leaders served sentences of from two to five years. Y Bham Enuol, the last to be released, came out of prison early in 1964. In the wake of the FULRO revolt of September 1964, in which he took part, he emerged as head of this dissident movement. The following year he published a document relating to the history of the highlands in which he cited the discontents that had led to the rebellion and added other grievances against the GVN.⁴ Among them were inequalities in the civil administration, in the army, and in public health facilities: Salaries for highland civil servants were lower than those for their Vietnamese equivalents, Highlanders were not readily promoted in the military and were not accepted for

Chief in Don Duong District, Tuyen Duc Province; and Y Ju Eban is a FULRO leader. Y Thih Eban was Finance Chief for Quang Duc Province until he was jailed following the December 1965 uprising. Siu Sipp was killed by the Viet Cong after his release from prison.

⁴Y Bham Enuol, "Extraits de l'Histoire des Hauts-Plateaux du Centre Viet Nam, Pays Montagnards du Sud," Zone d'Organisation, November 1, 1965 (mimeographed).

officer training, and Vietnamese nurses ignored highland patients. Y Bham Enuol also noted the lack of schools and of scholarships available to highland students, and he concluded by saying that none of the promises made by President Diem in Ban Me Thuot during a 1955 Oath Ceremony had been fulfilled.

From the time of the 1964 rebellion, FULRO leaders recorded these and other grievances and "aspirations" in a series of notes and later at meetings with GVN representatives. They wanted greater participation in political life. Explicitly, they asked for a highland leader (or leaders) to be placed high in the GVN hierarchy. They also suggested having a body of representatives from all highland ethnic groups meet periodically in Ban Me Thuot to discuss the needs of the population, and they requested that more of the administration in the highlands be placed in the hands of the indigenous people.

FULRO leaders asked, furthermore, that measures be taken to resolve the land claims of the Highlanders, and that foreign aid be channeled directly to the highlands rather than through Saigon. On the premise that only Highlanders could pacify the highlands, they proposed formation of a highland army or "military force" under the command of indigenous officers, who would receive guidance from Vietnamese and foreign military advisors. Finally, they wanted a highland flag to be flown under the national flag.

Several of the early communications went so far as to ask for highland representation abroad and to demand removal of the Land Development Centers from the highlands, but these requests soon were deleted from the list. A number of FULRO statements in the year following the revolt

contained sweeping demands -- the most extreme of them for complete autonomy of the highland area between the 17th Parallel and Dong Xoai, Phuoc Long Province -- but they appear to have been the work of radical elements in the movement and did not long remain among FULRO's "aspirations" (the French term favored by its spokesmen).

After the rebellion of September 1964, the GVN organized a conference for highland leaders. The aim of the conference, which was held in Pleiku in mid-October, was to permit highland representatives to present the hopes and demands of their people and to give GVN officials an opportunity to explain the government's intentions. The delegates, selected so as to represent the people of Pleiku, Darlac, Quang Duc, Tuyen Duc, Khanh Hoa, Phu Bon, Ninh Thuan, Quang Ngai, Phu Yen, Binh Dinh, and Kontum provinces, included a number whom the Highlanders looked upon as leaders; others were politically innocuous civil servants.

General Nguyen Huu Co, then the Commander of II Corps, presided over the meetings, as each provincial delegation presented its "aspirations." After several days of meetings and informal discussions, there was consensus among the delegates that the needs and desires of the Highlanders were best expressed in the presentation of the Darlac delegation.⁵ Briefly stated, this called for a GVN policy that respected the customs and traditions of the Highlanders and for programs aimed at raising the Highlanders' standard of living. More specifically, the Darlac delegates asked for a committee of highland representatives to be set up in every province, in addition to a national committee

⁵ See Appendix A for the complete text.

that was to be located at the Prime Minister's office. With this went a request for additional appointments of Highlanders to such positions as deputy province chief and provincial service chief for the ministries; a Highlander was to have a voice in selecting these officials to prevent the appointment of corrupt men. Highland administrators who had been dispersed to the lowlands after the general strike of September 1958 should be returned to the highlands, so the delegates argued.

In military affairs, they requested that all camp commanders of the Civilian Indigenous Defense Group program be replaced by ARVN officers who were Highlanders, and that command of any units (such as Regional Force units) made up of highland personnel be turned over to highland officers. This, in turn, necessitated increasing the number of NCO and OCS candidates from among the Highlanders. The delegation asked, furthermore, that those who had been sent to Camau to participate in Father Hoa's "Sea Gull" project be allowed to return to the highlands.

As a step toward solution of the Highlanders' land claims, the Darlac delegation asked for the cancellation of the GVN's Decree No. 153 (1956) and Official Letter No. 981 (1959), both of which severely restricted the Highlanders' freedom to obtain land title. Also, the delegates wanted the highland languages to be taught in primary schools along with Vietnamese. Finally, they added a request for government-run guest houses in provincial and district capitals.

The above were proposed as short-range measures that could be implemented quickly. A list of "long-range aspirations" followed, some of which overlapped with those already discussed. The most important was the request for a Special

Statute, a kind of "bill of rights," for the Highlanders relative to the administrative, military, economic, cultural, and educational aspects of their societies. Some of these demands were subsequently spelled out: In administration, they were for free elections of deputies for any future National Assembly; representation at the Prime Minister's office as well as at lower levels; rules and regulations governing land development; restoration of the indigenous place names used by the French, instead of the Vietnamese names introduced by the Diem regime; and the return of the Highland Law Courts to their former status.

As for the military aspects, the requests were for more highland officers and NCOs for the ARVN; an additional highland military force of between 25,000 and 50,000 men, to be commanded by highland officers and permitted to fly a flag of its own; provisions that would allow highland officers to arbitrate any difficulties involving highland military personnel; and a special code of procedures for compensating the families of highland civilians killed as the result of war action.

Economic requests included the issuance of two bulldozers to every highland district, the training of greater numbers of technical cadres, and establishment of marketing and agricultural cooperatives for Highlanders in every district. In the field of education, the specific demand was for scholarships and financial aid, and for special consideration to highland students in secondary schools and universities. Finally, the bill of particulars included more public health installations and the training of additional public health workers. In the course of the

conference, the delegates also added a request that foreign aid destined for the Highlanders be administered and distributed directly by highland provincial authorities instead of being channeled through Saigon.

Just before the meetings ended, Premier Nguyen Khanh arrived in Pleiku to meet with the GVN officials in charge of the conference and discuss the requests of the Highlanders. The following day, he addressed the final gathering, and, emphasizing the need for unity within the country, denounced those forces among the Highlanders that had created disturbances. He then went over every request. He promised that his government would act on all of them, with the exception of those concerned with the direct administration of foreign aid and with the formation of a highland military force. Before coming to Pleiku, General Khanh announced, he had signed a decree establishing a Directorate for Highland Affairs. It was to be directly under the Prime Minister, thus satisfying the Highlanders' request for representation at a high level of the central government.⁶

In December 1964, a group of fourteen highland leaders (representing the Rhadé, Jarai, Bahnar, Mnong Rlam, Sedang, and Chru) met in a seminar under the chairmanship of Major Ngo Van Hung, the then Deputy Director for Highland Affairs, to discuss the need for land registration, which the delegates based on the following grievances:

⁶ Although this decree removed the existing directorate from the control of the Ministry of Defense and placed it directly under the Prime Minister, its actual function changed little, and it remained essentially a liaison agency.

1. In many areas, privately-owned lands had been expropriated by local authorities wishing to set up Land Development Centers for Lowlanders on these lands.

2. In other areas, Lowlanders had abused their authority and taken advantage of the Highlanders' lack of experience to obtain concessions, such as the lease or purchase of tea and coffee estates.

3. Highlanders whose fields were within areas being cleared by local authorities had been promised compensation in the form of land, but these promises were never carried out.

4. Highlanders whose lands had been sequestered for public works programs (such as roads, bridges, district headquarters, and the Danhim dam) had received less compensation than did Lowlanders in similar circumstances.

The participants in the gathering were agreed that these practices had to be remedied, and reached accord on a set of land registration measures. These specific proposals were preceded by statements expressing the respect of both Highlanders and Lowlanders for state-owned lands and for the laws and regulations governing them, at the same time as they affirmed the right of both groups to develop waste lands and use state-owned lands in accordance with those regulations. The seminar also called for equal status for Highlanders and Lowlanders in their claim to lands which they cultivated and used for farmsteads. It was noted that Highlanders, because of their "underdeveloped economy," should be exempt from taxes for periods to be

determined by local circumstances (that is, by the extent of cultivated areas and available resources in each locality).

The seminar then recommended that Land Registration Committees be set up at province, district, and village levels, and outlined the specific organizational structure for each. At the province level they recommended:

Chairman: Province Chief
Vice Chairman: Deputy Province Chief (a Highlander)
Secretary: Chief of the Land Reform Service
Members: Two highland representatives, appointed by the Highlander Advisory Council, and two Lowlanders

For the District Land Registration Committee they proposed:

Chairman: District Chief
Vice Chairman: Deputy District Chief
Secretary: Representative of the Land Reform Service
Members: One Highlander and one Lowlander

(Qualifying the second recommendation, the seminar stipulated that, if both the district chief and his deputy were Lowlanders, the district chief was to choose a highland leader of good repute to serve as vice chairman; if both were Highlanders, a lowland civil servant would be named vice chairman.) Finally, the Village Land Registration Committee was to be set up as follows:

Chairman: Village Chief
Secretary: A civil servant appointed to this function
Members: One representative from each hamlet

The seminar concluded that land registration could be effected in three stages. The first would deal with areas where sedentary agriculture predominated, security was relatively good, and the administration was well established.

The second would be for areas with a roughly equal distribution of swidden and sedentary agriculture, in which security varied and the administration was not well established. The third would be the reverse of the first, with swidden agriculture predominant, security bad, and the administration nonexistent.

At the Convention for Administrative and Military Affairs, held in Saigon in March 1965, delegates from sixteen provinces,⁷ many of whom had participated in the Pleiku conference of October 1964, again presented a list of the Highlanders' aspirations.

They began by asking that the requests submitted to the Pleiku conference be realized. Several of those already noted were repeated, some with modifications. In administration, the delegates proposed the creation of Provincial Highland Advisory Councils that would assist the province chiefs in problems dealing with the highland population; the Directorate for Highland Affairs was to be raised to the status of a Special Commission. The earlier request for a highland military force was rephrased, and the revised proposal stipulated the formation of three Main Force units, up to regimental strength, to be composed of Highlanders and placed under a highland commander with technical assistance from Vietnamese officers. Highland Civil Combat Forces were to be transformed into such Main Force units.

⁷Quang Tri, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, Khanh Hoa, Ninh Thuan, Pleiku, Kontum, Darlac, Quang Duc, Tuyen Duc, Lam Dong, Phu Bon, Binh Tuy, Binh Long, and Phuoc Long.

The request for the direct receipt of foreign aid was changed to read that foreign aid funds intended for the highland population were to be administered by the proposed Special Commission for Highland Affairs under the supervision of the central government and with the advisory assistance of local authorities.

In August 1965, FULRO representatives made formal contact with GVN officials in Ban Me Thuot, and eventually, in response to a FULRO statement of October 23, entered into negotiations on six (later increased to eight) points outlined in that document. The stipulations were:

1. A "special status" for the Highlanders.
2. A General Commission for Highlanders, which was to be located in Ban Me Thuot and was to have Vietnamese and foreign advisors.
3. A highland military force, whose strength would depend on the security needs of the highlands at any given time. This force would be composed of highland personnel, with Vietnamese and foreign advisors.
4. The return to the highlands of highland military personnel and civil servants serving in the lowlands; those who wished to do so were to be permitted to remain in the lowlands.
5. A more equitable share for Highlanders in governmental and foreign aid.
6. A highland pennant to be flown with the national flag.
7. Willingness to forgo any previous demands for autonomy of the highlands if the "special status" (Point 1) were effected.

8. Participation of a highland delegation in any future international conference concerned with South Vietnam.

At about the same time as FULRO and government spokesmen were thus entering into negotiations, non-FULRO representatives also made a formal presentation of the Highlanders' hopes and needs. As the result of a directive from General Vinh Loc, the present II Corps Commander, a highland delegation consisting of representatives of the Bahnar, Rengao, Sedang, Halang, and Jarai ethnic groups met in Kontum on October 7, 1965, with the Kontum Province Chief. Paul Nur, then the Deputy Province Chief for Highland Affairs, submitted the "aspirations" of these groups, which, in general, closely resembled the points discussed at the Pleiku conference and later at the meetings in Saigon. Mr. Nur emphasized the need to solve the land claims of the Highlanders, and to improve and increase highland agriculture. Other demands included greater participation in the administration, military units composed of and led by Highlanders, a highland flag, the restoration of the Highland Law Courts, and the teaching of highland languages in the schools.

The aforementioned discussions between FULRO and GVN representatives in Ban Me Thuot continued until mid-November 1965, when the GVN broke them off. On December 17, extremist elements within FULRO launched the brief but violent revolt that resulted in the death of thirty-five Vietnamese in Thu Thien District, Phu Bon Province. Numerous Highlanders were arrested, and, after a trial, three leaders of the revolt were executed at Pleiku.

Contact between the negotiators was reestablished in May 1966. As the talks resumed and progressed, FULRO scaled down its demands to the four concerned, respectively, with the special status, a highland pennant, a highland military force, and the Commission for Highland Affairs to be established in Ban Me Thuot. The last request had been largely satisfied with the announcement, on February 21, 1966, of the formation of a new War Cabinet which included a Commissioner for Highland Affairs. Paul Nur, a Bahnar who had been Deputy Province Chief at Kontum, was named to the post. He and other Highlanders from the staff of the new commission (which replaced the old Directorate for Highland Affairs) participated in the GVN-FULRO talks that began in May.

In June 1966, Commander of II Corps General Vinh Loc was reported to have agreed to the four points and to have forwarded the document containing them to Premier Ky's office, which reviewed them and then returned the paper to the Commission for Highland Affairs. Mr. Nur and his deputy, Colonel Touprong Ya Ba, objected to the rephrasing of certain passages and once more submitted the document to the Premier's office. On August 8, 1966, in a letter to General Vinh Loc, Premier Ky agreed to the four points in principle, but indicated that the matter of the pennant would have to be resolved by a highland assembly to be convened in Ban Me Thuot by the Highlanders themselves.

CURRENT EXPRESSIONS OF THE HIGHLANDERS' ASPIRATIONS

As is apparent from the foregoing discussion, the wants and needs expressed by the FULRO leadership are much

the same as those articulated by the non-FULRO leaders. Indeed, as already indicated, the non-FULRO group has made no representations since October 1965, and some of its leaders have said openly that "the aspirations of FULRO are the aspirations of all Highlanders." This has been particularly true since the meetings between FULRO and GVN representatives at which the original requests of FULRO were first limited to six, then briefly raised to eight, and finally scaled down to four points. In the recent past, the goals of the two main groups have become even more closely welded. FULRO, in line with the GVN's agreement to its four points, put up four candidates in the September 1966 elections for a Constitutional Assembly, and two -- Ksor Rot of Phu Bon Province and Y Wick Buon Ya of Darlac Province -- were elected. They joined the other four Highlanders in the Assembly to incorporate a Highlanders' Bill of Rights in the proposed constitution. At the Highlander-Lowlander Solidarity Conference held in Pleiku in mid-October 1966, the Bill of Rights was again emphasized. Paul Nur, Special Commissioner for Highland Affairs, outlined some of the GVN's achievements in furthering the Highlanders' social and economic development since the Pleiku conference of October 1964. Then, addressing himself to the FULRO representatives, he said to them, among other things:

. . . you insist on asking the government to reaffirm the favors and supports the government has granted to the Highlanders by requesting the government to publish a legal document or decree which guarantees a Bill of Rights for the highland people as a substitute for the message released by the regime of General Nguyen Khanh. On the

contrary, we believe that a policy or status becomes valid only when the government is really determined to put it into execution.

Following Nur's speech, Mr. Y Dhe Adrong, the chief of the FULRO delegation, addressed the gathering in the Rhadé language (Nur had spoken in Vietnamese). His talk was concerned primarily with the Bill of Rights, which, he thought, the Highlanders should be granted "in exchange for our blood" (referring to those who had died fighting the Viet Cong). He placed particular emphasis on the Highlanders' claim to landownership and their right to speak their own languages and become literate in them.⁸

In December 1966, staff members of the SCHA prepared a draft of the Bill of Rights and sent it to Y Bham Enuol. The latter, who has been living in exile in Cambodia since 1964, has let it be known that, even if he finds the document acceptable, he will require very firm guarantees that the GVN would honor its commitment to it before he will consider returning to Vietnam.

⁸See Appendix B for the complete text of Y Dhe Adrong's speech.

IV. SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE PLACE OF THE HIGHLANDERS IN THE NATIONAL FRAMEWORK

Given the variety of ethnolinguistic groups in Vietnam, the policies of the central government should be aimed at welding all the different groups into a national entity. This is not to suggest that these groups should strive for cultural and linguistic amalgamation; it means only that their differences should be recognized, and allowed to become a source of cultural enrichment rather than of inter-group conflict. Specific recommendations are listed and discussed below.

1. An official policy based on the Highlanders' right to preserve their cultural identity by retaining their traditional ways and languages. In their response to the Diem regime's policy of assimilation and in the repeated expressions of their hopes and needs, highland leaders have left little doubt as to the Highlanders' basic desire to preserve their cultural identity. This is not incompatible with their seeking certain socioeconomic gains that would improve their standard of living, as well as greater participation in the political life of Vietnam, that is to say, in the administration of the highlands and in the councils of the central government.

In the course of normal social change, highland societies will inevitably be considerably influenced by the Vietnamese, who in recent times have been their major source of contact with the society beyond the mountains and with the modern world in general. Anyone familiar with highland societies of ten years ago is likely to be struck by the increase in Vietnamese influence that is apparent today.

More and more Highlanders speak Vietnamese, those with radios listen to Vietnamese programs as well as to programs in the indigenous language, and many young people sing Vietnamese songs. Guests are apt to be served food in the Vietnamese manner, with chopsticks and rice bowls, and Vietnamese fish sauce is a widely-used condiment.

As the Highlanders' standard of living rises and their economy develops, they are likely to borrow even more from Vietnamese culture. Already, as will be shown below, there are Highlanders who practice wet-rice agriculture and have adopted the Vietnamese technique of transplanting their seedlings; others can be observed imitating the Vietnamese methods of petty commerce in shopkeeping.

At the same time, however, they are likely to remain Highlanders: They will be literate in Vietnamese but also in their mother tongue. Their education will include information on Vietnamese history and Vietnamese cultural institutions, but they will pass their own traditions on from generation to generation as in the past. They will continue to construct most of their houses on piling, play their traditional music, and observe their own ceremonies.

As they develop socially and economically, the Highlanders will become a more integral part of the national framework. They will produce an increasing number of cash crops and enter into the marketing process, thus contributing to the national economy. With more and better education, they will assume greater control of the highland administration. But they will take their place in that larger framework as members of the Vietnamese nation who culturally are still Highlanders.

2. Programs aimed at raising the Lowlanders' appreciation and understanding of highland cultures. One of several reasons for the growth of Vietnamese cultural influence among the Highlanders has been their opportunity for contact with the Vietnamese in the highlands that has made them increasingly familiar with Vietnamese customs. By the same token, it is important to give the Vietnamese a better understanding and appreciation of the Highlanders' ways. Any program aimed at achieving this could begin by concentrating on those aspects of highland cultures which can be presented without need for extensive research. They would include forms of folk art -- poetry, music, and tales -- and of material culture as expressed in indigenous artifacts. Two possible courses are suggested:

1. Radio programs and literature about the Highlanders' music, poetry, and folk tales would be one means of making these aspects of highland cultures better known. Radio Ban Me Thuot already has programs featuring highland music, and this music, accompanied by explanations and discussions, could be broadcast also in Saigon and other Vietnamese cities.¹ Eventually, such programs might include material on other aspects of highland cultures. In addition, the government could make available inexpensive literature on these topics. It may be well to look at the example of North Vietnam, where quite an extensive literature on the ethnic minorities of Vietnam (including those in the South) has been developed in the course of

¹Radio Hanoi was broadcasting in four highland dialects as early as 1957.

government-sponsored programs designed to give people an appreciation of the minority peoples.²

2. An ethnological museum might be established in Saigon exhibiting highland art and artifacts as well as displays illustrating the Highlanders' daily activities. Plastic art and handicrafts thrive among most highland groups, and it would be relatively easy to acquire a collection worth exhibiting. This could be housed in a building incorporating some features of characteristic highland house construction, and it could be located in a convenient place, such as the Saigon Botanical Gardens. A similar institution in Kuching, the capital of Sarawak state in Malaysia, has become one of the major tourist attractions of that city.

²An impressive start on such a program was made in South Vietnam with the appearance, in May 1966, of a magazine, now published monthly by the Special Commission for Highland Affairs, which features a wide variety of articles and poetry about the highlands.

V. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS FOR THE HIGHLANDERS

It will require a wide range of related social and economic programs to satisfy the Highlanders' needs and desires and give them a well-defined role in the national framework. Moreover, each program of this kind, though focused on a specific achievement, should be planned in conjunction with all other programs designed for the highlands, and in full recognition of the fact that some may require as much as fifty years. For the sake of organization, the social and economic programs recommended in this study will be discussed under separate headings, but it must be remembered that they are intrinsic parts of the simple process of socioeconomic development.

SOCIAL PROGRAMS

A. Education

In a variety of ways, educational programs affect all aspects of socioeconomic development and are essential to its success. This goes beyond the establishment and expansion of primary, secondary, and university education; it includes that wide range of educational projects designed to convey knowledge and skills that will enable people to deal with social and economic innovations.

1. Primary-school education: It is recommended that primary-school education be widely and continually expanded, and that, particularly, schools be established in areas where none exists at present.

In many respects, primary education will be the spearhead of social and economic development throughout the highlands, for literacy (both in Vietnamese and in the indigenous language)¹ is a virtual prerequisite for the implementation of socioeconomic programs.

Table 2 gives an overview of present-day primary education for the several minorities in South Vietnam, showing the number, location, staff, and student body of Highlander, Cham, and Khmer schools by province. (Highlander schools have been grouped and subtotaled by the three main regions in which they are to be found.) The markedly high number of primary schools in Darlac, Kontum, Lam Dong, and Pleiku provinces as compared to the other highland provinces reflects, to a great extent, the pattern of educational development in the highlands. The pioneer efforts were made by the Société de la Mission Etrangère de Paris, the French Catholic mission that was established in the Kontum area in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the 1920's, two able French administrators, Sabatier and Antomarchi, founded the school system in Darlac Province. Eventually, this was extended to Pleiku, Kontum, and Haute Donnai (now Lam Dong). The Protestant mission, too, played an important role in spreading education in the southern part of the highlands. Scripts were devised for the languages spoken in these areas: Bahnar, Rengao, Jarai, Rhadé, and the Koho-speaking groups (Sre, Ma, Tring, Cil, Nop, and Lat).

¹As already indicated, the GVN, in response to requests of highland leaders at the Pleiku conference of October 1964, agreed to permit instruction in the reading and writing of highland languages in the primary schools.

Table 2

EDUCATION OF MINORITY GROUPS AT THE PRIMARY LEVEL

<u>Province</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Boarding Schools</u>	<u>Boarders</u>
<u>Highlander Schools</u>					
Tuyen Duc	5	20	794	3	400
Darlac	51	141	4,168	6	1,151
Kontum	16	64	2,029	5	550
Lam Dong	11	22	617	2	370
Phu Bon	4	29	1,350	2	370
Pleiku	10	33	1,696	6	900
Quang Duc	9	34	814	3	300
Total:	106	343	11,468	27	4,041
Binh Thuan	3	5	216		
Khanh Hoa	5	14	490	1	380
Ninh Thuan	5	6	208		
Phu Yen	4	6	195		
Quang Ngai	5	15	670		
Quang Tri	2	3	52		
Total:	24	49	1,831	1	380
Binh Long	1	6	293	1	250
Binh Tuy	1	2	74		
Long Khanh	7	15	555		
Phuoc Long	4	10	273	4	350
Total:	13	33	1,195	5	600
Total of all High- lander Schools:	143	425	14,494	33	5,021
<u>Cham Schools</u>					
Binh Thuan	6	27	1,069		
Ninh Thuan	16	47	2,224		
Total:	22	74	3,293		
<u>Khmer Schools (Pali Pagoda)</u>					
An Giang	3	7	509		
Ba Xuyen	20	21	437		
Chau Doc	9	17	1,384		
Phong Dinh	1	1	65		
Vinh Binh	26	39	2,268		
Total:	59	85	4,663		

Both the Indochina War and the present conflict not only have hampered the expansion of education in the highlands but have undone some of the earlier gains, particularly in areas where lack of security or the actual conduct of military operations has forced teachers to leave villages for the safety of provincial capitals. As pacification moves ahead, it may be possible to restore primary education in such areas, and plans should be made also to extend it to all pacified areas (for example, Binh Dinh Province) where previously it did not exist. Another way of spreading literacy would be through a popular culture program, such as that organized in 1955. It would involve simple courses in reading and writing, without the buildings and trained staff needed for a program of formal primary education.

Any effort of bringing literacy to remote areas will be aided by the extensive research in structural linguistics that the SIL staff has conducted on the languages of the Brou, Pacoh, Katu, Cua, Jeh, Halang, Sedang, Bahnar, Mnong Rlam, Northern Roglai, Stieng, and Chrau, as well as of the Cham and some northern highland groups (the Tho, White Tai, and Muong). As a result of this work, alphabets are being devised and primers printed for the first time. With financial assistance from USAID, primers already have been prepared in the Bahnar, Brou, Chrau, Pacoh, Northern Roglai, Sedang, and Stieng languages, as well as in Cham, White Tai, and Tho. Table 3 shows the continuing progress of this work by the SIL.

A serious obstacle to the rapid growth of education in the highlands is the lack of teachers. One of the inter-war achievements of the GVN was the founding of the Highland

Table 3

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF FIFTY PRIMERS PREPARED BY THE SUMMER
INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS FOR THE MINORITY LANGUAGES OF VIETNAM

LANGUAGE	PROVINCE	PRIMERS (in series)	PRINTED '62-'63	DISTRIBUTED '62-'63	PRINTED '64	DISTRIBUTED '64	PRINTED '65	DISTRIBUTED '65	PRINTED '66-Feb '67	DISTRIBUTED '66-Feb '67
Bahnar	Kontum	1			200	200	400	300	5,000	5,000
		2			200	200	400	300	5,000	5,000
		3			200	200	400	300	5,000	5,000
		4			200	200	400	300	5,000	5,000
		5							5,000	5,000
		6							5,000	5,000
Brou	Quang Tri	Preprimer			600	500				
		1			600	500				
		2			600	500				
		3			600	500				
		4			600	500				
		5			600	500				
		6			600	500				
		7			600	500				
		8			600	500				
		9			600	500				
		10			600	500				
		11			600	500				
		12			600	500				
		13			600	500				
		14			600	500				
		15			600	500				
		16			600	500				
Cham	Ninh Thuan	1	2,700	50						
		2	2,700	50						
Chrau	Long Khanh	Preprimer							200	200
		1			2,500	500	1,500	500		
		2			200	200				
		3			600	600				
Pacoh	Thua Thien	4			200	200				
		1	2,000	50						
		2			1,500	50				
		3					200	50		
		4					200	50		
		5								
		6							200	200
		7							200	200
		8							200	200
N. Ronglai	Khanh Hoa	9							200	200
		1					150	100		
		2					150	100		
Sedang	Kontum	3					150	100		
		1							1,000	1,000
		2							1,000	1,000
		3							1,000	1,000
		4							1,000	1,000
		5							1,000	1,000
		6							1,000	1,000
		7							1,000	1,000
Stieng	Phuoc Long	8							1,000	1,000
		1	2,700	2,000						
		2	2,700	2,000						
		3	2,700	2,000						
		4	2,700	1,000						
W. Tai	Tuyen Duc	5			2,500	500				
		1	2,700	50						
Tho	Tuyen Duc	2	2,700	50						
		1	100							
TOTAL			23,700	7,250	18,500	11,350	3,950	2,100	39,000	39,000

Total number printed, 1962 - February, 1967 85,150
Total number distributed, 1962 - February, 1967 59,700

Normal School at Ban Me Thuot in 1957. It advanced the development of education, but it did so in areas of the high plateaus where education already was fairly well established. Table 4, showing the ethnic origins of applicants and students at the Highland Normal School, was prepared from records of the school itself; if one discounts the Cham and the refugees from North Vietnam, it indicates that those who benefit most from this institution are the Rhadé, Jarai, and Koho-speaking groups, who live relatively close to the school. (This conclusion is borne out also by Table 2.)

Table 4
ETHNIC DATA ON CANDIDATES AND STUDENTS AT THE
HIGHLAND NORMAL SCHOOL
(BAN ME THUOT, DARLAC PROVINCE) IN 1965

A. Ethnic Distribution of Candidates for Admission

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number Who Took Entrance Examination</u>	<u>Number Who Passed Entrance Examination</u>
Rhadé	54	21
Jarai	19	8
Sedang	6	0
Mnong	2	1
Koho-speaking	7	3
Cham	44	10
North Vietnamese Highlanders	21	5
Total:	<u>153</u>	<u>48</u>

B. Ethnic Composition of Second-Year Class

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number Enrolled</u>
Rhadé	25
Jarai	6
Koho-speaking	6
Chru	1
White Tai	2
Cham	<u>10</u>
Total:	<u>50</u>

Additional normal schools are needed in the highlands to serve areas that are far removed from Ban Me Thuot. As security improves, a normal school might be established in Son Ha District, Quang Ngai Province, for example, to train primary-school teachers for the northern part of the South-Vietnamese highlands. Another could be set up at Lac Duong (Dran) District, Tuyen Duc Province, to serve the southern portion of the highlands.

2. Secondary-level education: The program for secondary education should be geared to the wide range of skills needed in the implementation of social and economic development programs.

An important function of any secondary school is to train those who will move on to higher education and eventually assume positions of leadership. (This will be discussed more fully in the section dealing with higher education.) Although most of today's highland leaders have had some secondary schooling, it is significant that only two are reputed to have their second baccalaureate, the diploma that completes the final phase of the French secondary-school curriculum. In meeting the Highlanders' request for special consideration in secondary-school and university admissions, which their leaders presented at the October 1964 Pleiku conference, the GVN decreed that Highlanders would receive a bonus of ten extra points per hundred in secondary-school entrance examinations, and a 20 per cent bonus on their first and second baccalaureate examinations. Also, the Ministry of Education has organized special "seventh-level" classes emphasizing mathematics and the Vietnamese language in an effort to help Highlanders to enter secondary school. Furthermore, the GVN is

providing 300 "national government scholarships" (double the previous number), most of which are to enable southern and northern (refugee) Highlander and Cham students to attend secondary school. The Asia Foundation has raised the number of similar scholarships from 100 to 150.

Along with the need for an educated elite of Highlanders able to guide social and economic development through planning and implementation, there will be a concomitant demand for a large nonfarming group, new to highland societies, with a wide range of technical skills and training in numerous crafts and professions. Programs for secondary-level training should be planned to meet this need. As Table 5 indicates, Highlanders are being trained as health technicians and nurses in Saigon and Hue, and in various other technical fields in Saigon, Hue, Danang, and Ban Me Thuot. In Hue, fourteen Highlanders are studying forestry. This constitutes a good beginning, but the need for local training courses of varying duration and in a wide range of additional skills is growing. At the present time, for example, the demand is for more Highlanders with clerical training. The Commission for Highland Affairs, for lack of qualified Highlanders, is having to use a clerical staff that is almost exclusively Vietnamese, and this situation obtains throughout the administrative structure of the highlands. Several kinds of courses might be devised to remedy it. Typing and shorthand could be taught in existing secondary schools, and in special clerical schools set up for those with only a primary education. Other clerical skills could be imparted through in-service training. As part of such a program, for example, Highlanders might be sent to work in the Saigon office of the Commission for Highland Affairs.

Table 5

SPECIALIZED TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR MINORITY-GROUP STUDENTS, 1964-1966*

FIELDS	COURSES	NUMBER OF STUDENTS**			ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION WITHIN TOTAL NUMBER			DUE TO ENTER
		Attending	Graduated	Total	Southern Highlanders	Northern Highlanders	Cham	
ADMINISTRATION	Administrators 1st class (three-year program)	13	1	14	1	6	6	1
	Administrators 2nd class (one-year course)	10	10	20	14	3	3	
UNIVERSITY	Medical School	2		2	1	1		2
	School of Pharmacy	1		1		1		
HEALTH	Health Technicians	7	1	8	4	2	2	
	Nurses' Assistants	6		6	1	3	2	
	Nurses (Saigon and Hue)	20	10	30	9	5	6	
	Registered Midwives	1		1			1	
PEDAGOGY	Long An Community Development Teachers School	1	1	1			1	7
	Qui Nhon Pedagogy School							2
	Ban Me Thuot Highlands Pedagogy School							2
TECHNOLOGY	Electrical Engineering Schools Technicians Engineers							2 2
	Civil Engineering Schools Technicians Engineers	7		7	4		3	5 3
TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING	Phu Tho Secondary Technical School	3	2	5	1	1	3	8
	Hue Technical School	9		9	9			
	Danang Technical School	3		3	3			
	Ban Me Thuot Y Ut Technical School	146		146	42	11	49	58
	Regina Pacis Technical School for Girls (Saigon)	10		10	8	2		2
	Home Decoration School	8		8	4		4	5
AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY, AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY	National School of Commerce							
	School of Agriculture, Forestry, & Animal Husbandry							
	Hue: 3rd and 5th Sess.	14		14	14			6
	Bao Loc: 3rd and 5th Sess.	5		5		3	2	5
	Can Tho: 3rd and 5th Sess.	4		4			4	7 or 8
	Agric. Inst.	2		2	1		1	
	Forestry Inst.		1	1				
	Forestry Compt.		1	1				
MILITARY	Veterinary Compt.		3	3				
	Thu Duc Officer Training School		53	53	51		2	
	School for NCOs		34	34				
	Military Preparatory School of Pleiku	196		196	196			

*From statistics prepared by the Special Commission for Highland Affairs.

**The third column of figures shows the totals of students graduated from and now attending the individual schools. The sum of the ethnic data to the right of that column may be the same or smaller. Students about to enter have not been included in total.

Most existing technical schools already offer relatively sophisticated training in a curriculum that extends over several years. In addition, it may be useful to devise shorter courses that will train Highlanders in specific skills, such as the care and repair of motor vehicles (trucks, automobiles, motor bicycles, and two- and three-wheeled motor scooters), smithery, carpentry, shoemaking and repairing, barbering, and sewing.² Such a program should include some scheme by which anyone receiving training could obtain the financial aid necessary to launching him in his trade.

The Asia Foundation, recognizing the need for training of this type, has granted scholarships to eight highland girls for the study of home economics at the Regina Pacis School in Saigon, and to six young men for a six-month course in auto repair and electrical installation at the La San School in Dalat.

Suggestions for training in agricultural skills and petty commerce will be discussed below, under the heading of Economic Programs.

3. Higher education: (a) Any program designed to attract Highlanders to the university level should aim at producing an elite that

² Some training in these crafts, as well as instruction in improved agricultural techniques, is being furnished by the Highland Training Centers in Pleiku and Hue (the latter having lost considerably in importance since the opening of the former). A common complaint of trainees is that the instruction is too brief and superficial. Also, many have reported that, when they returned to their villages, they lacked the means to carry on the trade they had just learned.

will include professionals in all fields of specialization. (b) It is recommended that the Commission for Highland Affairs form a special board to select candidates for higher education.

(a) Through their spokesmen the Highlanders have expressed the desire to participate more in the national life of Vietnam. As their social and economic development continues and they are integrated in the national framework, there will be great need for a highland elite with a wide range of specialized knowledge. Today, most Highlanders with advanced training have received it at the National Institute of Administration (NIA), which was founded in 1954. Between 1954 and 1958, when President Diem ordered the Highland Section at the NIA abolished, a total of seventy-one students received training in four classes. Thirteen of these were Highlanders (the remaining 58 were refugees from the highlands of North Vietnam and Cham), and many of them have since emerged as highland leaders (see Table 6). Between 1958 and 1964, there were no highland students at the NIA. Following the Pleiku conference of October 1964 and the government's promise that it would provide more higher education for Highlanders, Touneh Han Tho (a Chru, who had been in the fourth and last class of the Highland Section) was admitted to the three-year course which prepared civil servants of high rank. A special one-year course, launched in 1964-1965, included ten Highlanders: eight Jarai and two Rhadé. The 1966-1967 course has four Highlanders: two Jarai and two Rhadé. Only an estimated two Highlanders have passed the second baccalaureate, and there are as yet no Highlanders with

Table 6

HIGHLANDERS TRAINED IN THE NIA BETWEEN 1954-1958
AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT POSITIONS

First Class (1954-1955)

Touprong Hiu (Chru)	Presiding Judge at Highland Court of Tuyen Duc Province. A well-known leader, active at conferences, and a successful highland farmer. (For further details see the next subsection of this Memorandum, on "Economic Programs.")
Ya Ya Sahau (Chru)	Deputy Province Chief for Highland Affairs, Tuyen Duc Province.
Y Blu (Rhadé)	Chief of Refugee Affairs, Darlac Province.

Second Class (1955-1956)

Y Dhuat Nie Kdam (Rhadé)	Deputy Province Chief for Highland Affairs, Darlac Province.
Y Chon Mlo Duon Du (Rhadé)	Special Secretary in Commission for Highland Affairs.
Rcom Rock (Jarai)	Chief of Economic Section, Pleiku Province.
Y Soi	Remains in village because of illness.

Third Class (1956-1957)

Pierre Yuk (Bahnar)	Deputy Province Chief for Highland Affairs, Kontum Province.
Touneh Yoh (Chru)	Deputy District Chief, Don Duong District, Tuyen Duc Province.
Touneh Han Dinh (Chru)	Deputy District Chief, Lac Duong District, Tuyen Duc Province (killed in a helicopter crash in September 1966).
Rcom Perr (Jarai)	Secretary to Deputy Province Chief for Highland Affairs, Phu Bon Province.

Fourth Class (1957-1958)

Boui Ngai (Chru)	Deputy District Chief, Di Linh (Djiring) District, Bao Loc Province.
Touneh Han Tho (Chru)	Currently the only Highlander in the NIA three-year program for the training of higher civil servants.

university degrees. Currently, the Asia Foundation is giving scholarship support to a Rhadé in the Medical School of Hue University, and USAID has granted two scholarships to Highlanders (one Mnong Rlam and one Sre) who began a teacher training course at the University of Southern Illinois in the fall of 1966.

For Highlanders to achieve desired representation high in the GVN, more of them will have to take advanced training in fields other than administration. For example, it would be desirable ultimately to have Highlanders trained in Vietnamese law hold legal positions in such government bodies as the Commission for Highland Affairs and the proposed National Assembly. Doctors, educators, economists, sociologists, engineers, agronomists, and other professionals ideally should be qualified to occupy high positions in the appropriate ministries and other government agencies.

Responsible and well-trained Highlanders will constitute the elite that must guide and shape the development of their societies. Those in the central government will be of great value in the organization and implementation of social and economic programs, and in furnishing a channel of communication between the government and the highland people. In addition, there will be a need for trained specialists among the Highlanders, who can be entrusted with the research and experimentation that are essential to economic development. (For details on their likely role see the discussion under "Economic Programs.")

Until the economic development of the highlands has progressed to the point where at least some families can pay for the higher education of their children, a program

of this kind will have to be subsidized by the GVN, with assistance from foreign aid agencies and private foundations. The government also will be responsible for the professional placement of university graduates and other specialists with advanced training.

(b) One of the difficulties in any scholarship program is that of selecting the most promising candidates. The quality of secondary education in the highlands being uneven, the fact that a student has done well in his secondary school does not necessarily mean that he is qualified for the university, nor does it tell enough about his motivation and other important considerations. It is recommended, therefore, that the Commission for Highland Affairs appoint a special board of highland leaders, whose task it would be to review all scholarship applications. Having consulted with the authorities of the candidate's secondary school and with people from his native area, and having interviewed the student himself, they would submit their recommendation to the agencies concerned with the granting of scholarship aid, that is to say, to the Ministry of Education, the USAID Education Division, and perhaps the Asia Foundation.

B. The Special Commission for Highland Affairs

Both FULRO and non-FULRO highland leaders have repeatedly asked for more representation of Highlanders in the upper ranks of the central government. Under General Nguyen Khanh, a bureau in charge of highland affairs was organized in the Ministry of Defense, and initially was known officially as the Directorate of Highland Social Welfare Activities. By a decree of May 5, 1964, this agency

became the Directorate for Highland Affairs. Just before the Pleiku conference of October 1964, Premier Nguyen Khanh signed a decree that removed the directorate from the Ministry of Defense and placed it under the Premier's office. This change was announced at the conference in response to the request for highland representation near the center of government. Some time after the conference, Colonel Touprong Ya Ba, a respected Highlander who had been the GVN emissary to the rebel Buon Sar Pa camp during the September 1964 uprising, was appointed to head the directorate.

Highland leaders were not fully satisfied, however. They maintained that the directorate served only a liaison function and that Colonel Ya Ba had no authority to formulate or even to implement programs for the Highlanders. At the meeting held in Saigon in March 1965, highland leaders asked that the directorate be raised in status and become the Special Commission for Highland Affairs, and a similar request was included in the GVN-FULRO negotiations that lasted from August to November 1965. On February 21, 1966, following the Honolulu Conference, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky announced the formation of a new war cabinet. One of the newly created positions was that of the Commissioner for Highland Affairs, who was to be head of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs. The man appointed to the post was Paul Nur, a Bahnar, who had been Deputy Province Chief for Highland Affairs in Kontum Province and who, in 1958, had been jailed for his role in the Highlanders' general strike.

The Commission has representatives in the twenty-three provinces with a highland population. Its functions cover a wide range of activities,³ many of which are designed to satisfy the express desires of the Highlanders.

1. Defining the functions, responsibilities, and prerogatives of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs in relation to government ministries and other agencies.

In its prospectus for action,⁴ the Special Commission for Highland Affairs divides its activities into three categories: unilateral, coordinated, and motivating activities. These cover a very wide range of projects and programs, from such broad objectives as improving the Highlanders' living conditions to the very specific tasks of conducting a census and providing tools, animals, and seed to bolster the economy, all of them integral to giving the Highlanders a well-defined place in the national framework and a greater share in their own socioeconomic development. It is not clear, however, how much of the responsibility for implementing the various programs will fall on the Commission. Certainly, many of the activities listed are properly the concern of the ministries of Education, Agriculture, and Social Welfare and of other government agencies. In some of these projects, the technical capability lies with the pertinent ministry, and the role of the Commission is likely to be that of consultant. Conducting a census, for example, should be the responsibility of the Bureau of Statistics; but at the organizing stage the Commission

³ See Appendix D.

⁴ Ibid.

ought to be consulted on how to adapt the questionnaire to the kinship situations of the Highlanders. (For example, the composition of the large matrilineal household group of the Rhadé will have to be treated differently from that of the Vietnamese household.) In taking account of these cultural peculiarities, the Commission would benefit by the ethnic diversity of its staff. The same would be true for agricultural projects, which would have to be adapted to the varying customs of the highlands.⁵

There will also be a coordinating function for the Commission to perform, an extension of what it is currently doing in working with USAID and the Ministry of Education in the Boarding School Program. This will enhance its role in the socioeconomic development of highland societies, to which coordination among the ministries and agencies, both GVN and foreign, will be essential.

Finally, the Commission will assume primary responsibility for a number of programs and projects that heretofore have been the concern of other governmental agencies. It will be suggested below that a Center for Highland Research, under the administrative control of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs, be established in the highlands which would coordinate ethnographic, agricultural, silvacultural, and soil research and would also serve as a documentation center and a place for agricultural experimentation and training. Although this center would require some technical advice from the Ministry of Agriculture and other ministries, its planning and operation would be the responsibility of the Commission.

⁵See Appendix F for a survey of the different agricultural systems of highland groups.

The several programs we have suggested for familiarizing the Vietnamese with the Highlanders' way of life also would be entrusted to the Commission, with expert counsel from other agencies. Thus, the Ministry of Education might provide technical advice on an ethnological museum and in the collecting of highland poetry and folk tales; the music faculty of the University and Radio Saigon could help organize programs on highland music.

2. A program of specialized training for Commission members. As was pointed out earlier, Highlanders with advanced degrees will have to assume leading roles in the ministries and in agencies such as the Special Commission and the National Assembly, in which they will be able to guide the socioeconomic development of the highlands. Secondary-level education also would have to be greatly expanded to supply the wide range of technical skills needed. To plan and carry out its program, the Commission will require not only clerical workers but Highlanders with a variety of other skills. Qualified representatives in each province with a highland population will contribute vitally to the successful functioning of the Commission, as consultants on programs and projects in their respective provinces, as coordinators, and as a channel for keeping Commission headquarters in Saigon informed on local situations and wants. If, as suggested previously, the Commission assumes responsibility for selecting the students who are to be given a higher education, province representatives will also be responsible for collecting and transmitting to Saigon the background material and character testimonies obtained from local people.

The headquarters staff will be called on for a growing variety of skills as the Commission assumes greater control over its own projects and programs. For the suggested ethnological museum, for example, staff members will need special training if such an institution is to be well run, with uncluttered, attractive displays. To this end, one person should be given formal training in museology.⁶

C. Highland Law Courts

Prior to the arrival of the French, laws among the Highlanders were unwritten; they took the form of taboos and sanctions that had been passed down through the generations and were known and respected by all. In every society, the law was a well-defined moral order, with clearly specified punishments for its offenders, and it was the responsibility of the village leaders to maintain it. Interpersonal disputes that violated this moral order were primarily the affair of the family or families involved, and secondarily that of the village. Jural authority did not go beyond the village.

The French allowed the Highlanders to resolve difficulties among themselves according to their own customs. Decrees of September 17, 1929, and August 20, 1938, provided for Highland Law Courts in Darlac and Kontum provinces. In 1940, the able French résident of Darlac Province published a codified set of laws for the Rhadé based on their

⁶The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, in conjunction with the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, offers courses that emphasize museum display methods.

customs, and this became the basis for adjudication in the Ban Me Thuot court.⁷ Decree No. 221-2673 (August 9, 1947) outlined an organizational scheme for similar courts to be set up throughout the highlands at the province, district, and village levels. Two more law codes followed, both written by administrators: Gerber prepared the set for the Stieng, and Guilleminet produced a coutumier covering the Bahnar, Jarai, and Sedang of Kontum Province.⁸ The French ethnologist Lafont subsequently published a comprehensive volume on the legal customs of the Jarai.⁹

The cases brought before the highland courts were those that could not be resolved at the village level. Court procedures were relatively simple. At Ban Me Thuot, for example, the judge was a respected elderly man, Y Keo Knoul, who held his sessions during the first five days of every month. He would sit behind a simple desk in the middle of a small room, while the plaintiff and his party sat on one side of the room, and the defendant and his group on the other. After each side had presented its case and witnesses had been heard, the judge would refer to the pertinent law, and the matter usually would be resolved through discussion.

⁷L. Sabatier, Recueil des coutumes Rhadées du Darlac, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, 1940.

⁸T. Gerber, "Coutumier Stieng," Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 45, 1951, pp. 228-269. Paul P. Guilleminet, Coutumier de la tribu Bahnar des Sedang et des Jarai (de la province de Kontum), Publications of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 32, Paris, 1952.

⁹Pierre-Bernard Lafont, Toloi Djuat: Coutumier de la tribu Jarai, Publications of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris, 1963.

Under the Diem regime, in line with the policy of assimilating the Highlanders in the Vietnamese cultural sphere, the Highland Law Courts were relegated to insignificance as Vietnamese legal codes were introduced for the first time. The Highlanders, who considered Vietnamese law ill-suited to their societies, greatly resented this change, and one of their requests at the Pleiku conference in 1964, and again in Saigon in March 1965, was that Highland Law Courts be reinstated. The GVN acceded to the demand, and, on July 22, 1965, promulgated a decree aimed at "reorganizing Highland Common Law Courts."¹⁰ Under the new arrangement, these courts will have jurisdiction over civil cases, "highland affairs," and the penal offenses in which both parties are Highlanders. Criminal and other offenses committed by highland servicemen, crimes against the nation, and those involving Vietnamese will be brought before the National Courts.

The new law provides for courts at the village, district, and province levels. The Village Highland Law Court will be presided over by the Village Administrative Committee chief, assisted by two highland assessors. Early in December of every year, the chairman of the village administrative committee together with residents of the village must prepare a list of twelve notables elected by the populace. The district chief, who is also the justice of the peace, then selects from each list two regular assessors and two deputy assessors to serve on the Village Law Court. When there are cases to be heard, at least one

¹⁰ See Appendix E for the complete text.

weekly session must be held. Once a case is resolved, the decision is recorded and signed by the contesting parties, and this forecloses the right to appeal to a higher court. Appeal is possible when the case remains unreconciled.

At the district level, the president of the court will be the district chief, assisted by two highland assessors and aided also by a clerk-interpreter. The assessors are to be selected from lists of highland notables elected by the district residents. The court will sit at least twice a month at the district headquarters. Its jurisdiction will extend to cases appealed from the village courts, lawsuits on civil and commercial matters involving more than 500 VN\$ (but less than 1500 VN\$), "all kinds of minor offenses," and "cases traditionally considered serious ones, such as offenses against religions and creeds, viz. desecration of graves, insults uttered during a ritual ceremony, disturbance of an oath-taking ceremony, and offenses against deities."

At the province level, a Highland Affairs Section is to be organized in the National Court. The presiding judge, a Highlander, will be assisted by two highland assessors to be drawn from lists of elected notables, a national clerk who will keep the records, and an interpreter. The Highland Affairs Court will sit once or twice a month, depending on demand. It will be competent to pass judgment on appeals from the Highland District Courts and on actions which go beyond the jurisdiction of village or district courts.

At the time that the above decree was promulgated, in July 1965, the only Highland Law Court technically still in existence was the one at Ban Me Thuot, with Y Keo Knoul

as judge, and it was functioning to some degree. In April 1966, selections of personnel for village, district, and province courts in Tuyen Duc Province were made, in keeping with the announcement contained in an official document (Decision No. 001-TD/TP/QD) dated March 18, 1966, and signed by the province chief. Upon selection, the names, together with character statements, were submitted by the province chief to the Attorney General, Director of South Vietnam Judicial Affairs, Saigon.

On August 22, 1966, in a document (425/BTP/KT/01) marked "urgent," the Director of Cabinet of the Ministry of Justice asked the Director General of Budget and Foreign Aid for funds, totaling 5,598,000 VN\$, with which to establish Highland Law Courts at the village, district, and province levels in Tuyen Duc, Darlac, Pleiku, and Kontum provinces. The document showed an itemized list of projected expenditures and included this statement:

The establishment of the Highland Law Courts in accordance with government policy is essential to winning the sympathy of the Highlanders and strengthening their faith in the government. It also is in accordance with the observation contained in official letter 1159/HP/DUTV/1 of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs that these courts "will aid substantially in convincing the FULRO to return and support the central government."

On September 7, 1966, the Ministry of Justice issued a directive (No. 9593-BTP/HOV) to the public prosecutors in the Courts of Appeal in Saigon and Hue calling on them to implement the decree of July 22, 1965, in the provinces

of Darlac, Quang Duc, Tuyen Duc, Lam Dong, Pleiku, Kontum, and Phu Bon.¹¹

After outlining the structure of the court system, the directive called for meetings that would make it possible to have village and district court personnel designated by September 25, 1966, with final lists to be compiled by October 2. These were to be forwarded to the province chiefs' offices by October 8, 1966, along with all particulars about the candidates and the district chiefs' evaluation of their "proficiency, moral character, reputation, and nationalistic spirit." The public prosecutors of Saigon and Hue and the province chiefs would then make the final selections and submit them to the Ministry of Justice by October 15, 1966. Tuyen Duc Province was included because, the directive noted, the selection of the court personnel there "had not been in close compliance with the law."

1. For the time being, it is advisable to avoid creating an excessively complex structure for the Highland Law Courts. Given the lack of administrative talent in highland areas, the structure of the Highland Law Courts envisaged in the law probably cannot be established in

¹¹Article 12 of the July 1965 legislation (see Appendix E) called for a Highland Affairs Section in every National Court of first instance. This would have required such sections to be set up at Dalat, Pleiku, and Ban Me Thuot, rather than in the province capitals as specified in the September 1966 directive. It is not clear at the present time how this discrepancy will affect the implementation of the earlier decree.

most provinces. Of the seven provinces designated in the directive of September 7, 1966, only five -- Darlac, Tuyen Duc, Pleiku, Kontum, and Lam Dong -- have among their inhabitants Highlanders who gained experience in the courts established by the French, and can draw on a pool of educated local people for their court personnel. And even with these advantages, they are likely to have difficulty in finding qualified personnel for all of the district-level courts.

Inevitably, therefore, the extent to which courts throughout the highlands can manage to conform to the written law will vary from place to place. Generally speaking, it would be advisable to begin by establishing courts at the top level, and work downward as more qualified personnel becomes available. In the five provinces noted above, for example, there should be no problem in finding Highlanders to fill needed positions at all province courts and most district courts. (The lack of qualified personnel undoubtedly will be felt in such places as Dak Sut and Tou Morong Districts in Kontum Province, Phuoc An District in Darlac Province, and Phu Nhon District in Pleiku Province.) In Quang Duc and Phu Bon, the province courts should take priority over district courts because of the paucity of administratively talented Highlanders at the district level.

Plans also should be made to establish Highland Law Courts in the other sixteen provinces with highland populations. This will pose several problems. The first of these is once again the lack of qualified personnel, but the social and economic development of those areas should eventually produce the necessary reservoir of educated

people. The second problem in most of the sixteen provinces is that the capital is relatively far removed from the highland population. The capitals of Quang Tri, Thua Thien, Quang Nam, Quang Tin, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, Phu Yen, Khanh Hoa, Ninh Thuan, Binh Thuan, Binh Tuy, and Phuoc Tuy (twelve of the twenty-three provinces that have Highlanders among their population) are all on or near the coast and thus a considerable distance from the uplands where the highland people live. (In Phuoc Tuy, some Chrau live in the vicinity of Phuoc Le, Baria, but most are scattered in more remote areas.) In these coastal provinces it would be advisable, therefore, to begin by establishing Highland Law Courts at the district level, as, for example, in Huong Hoa District (Quang Tri Province), which is a center for the Brou people; in Tra Bong District, where many Cua villages surround the capital town; in Son Ha District, a traditional Hre center, from which a Hre member was elected to the Constitutional Assembly; and in Ba To District, another Hre area.

There is no need at the present time to formalize the legal process at the village level. Highland villagers, like Vietnamese villagers, prefer to settle their difficulties within the framework of family or village without recourse to outside authority.

2. Training legal personnel for Highland Courts.

An educational program of this kind should be geared not only to the needs of courts that are being established for the first time, but also to the exigencies of the projected social and economic development of the highlands. At present, as already indicated, only those areas with a residual group of people who gained experience in the

courts established by the French, and provinces that can draw on a reservoir of the better-educated, have the manpower resources with which to implement the new law to any extent. There is immediate need for a training program that will produce legal personnel for the provinces in which courts previously have not existed and where general education still is at a rudimentary stage of development. This will involve far more than acquiring basic clerical skills; if all the stipulations of the new law are to be met, it will be the responsibility of judges and court clerks to record decisions and also to compile codes of indigenous laws similar to the coutumiers prepared by the French.

Finally, it is inevitable that the changes brought about by the socioeconomic development of highland societies will raise the number of legal problems that come before the higher courts, and will add to their complexity. To function efficiently, therefore, the Highland Courts will need increasingly well-trained and sophisticated staffs.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMS

All programs for the Highlanders' economic development should aim primarily at elevating their societies from the tribal economic level, where they grow chiefly subsistence crops, to a peasant level at which, in addition to raising enough for their own consumption, they will ultimately produce cash crops for the market.

A number of programs might serve to achieve this goal. The suggestions outlined below are concerned, first, with the vital question of land tenure. From there the discussion will proceed to the matter of agricultural development

and to related programs having to do with marketing and petty commerce.

A. Land Tenure

The resolution of land claims has been foremost among the express desires of the Highlanders, who point to the fact that they were the first occupiers of the soil with traditional land-tenure systems. By and large, the French were tolerant of these claims, but under their administration the need to cope with them was confined to areas where plantations were being established. Under the Ngo Dinh Diem government, the policy was that, with the exception of land already deeded either by the French regime or by the newly-established republic, all land in the highlands was public land. This policy was manifest in the 1957 Land Development Program, wherein lowland Vietnamese were settled in the highlands and given land, some of which the Highlanders claimed as rightfully theirs.¹² No formal provision was made to compensate the claimants.¹³ In 1958 the Diem government's Highlander Resettlement Program called for Highlanders to be moved from land they were occupying into

¹²These claims, and recommendations for ways of satisfying them, were contained in a report by the author, Preliminary Report on the P.M.S., Michigan State University Vietnam Advisory Group, Saigon, 1957. (P.M.S. stands for Pays Montagnards du Sud, or "Southern Highland Country," as the highlands were officially designated at the time.)

¹³Unofficially, General Le Van Kim, then Director of the Land Development Program, paid those farming on the site of the Buon Kroa Land Development Project (one of the first under the program) a total of some 30,000 VN\$, a gesture which caused him to be removed from that position.

"reservations" where they would be "civilized." The only legal expressions of this policy were a decree of 1958 and an official letter of 1959, both of which stated, in effect, that Highlanders had a right only to the produce of the land they were farming, not to the land itself.

As a result of the Pleiku conference of October 1964, these decrees of the Diem era were rescinded. But the policy of treating undeeded highland land as public land has remained, as is manifest in legislation ordering a survey of public lands with the aim of granting title to those illegally occupying them. Title granted to Highlanders in conformity with such legislation is concessionary, with marked restrictions on the right to sell, and the stipulation that the GVN may appropriate the land, whenever it wishes, in return for adequate compensation.

1. Traditional Land-Tenure Systems

Every one of the twenty-one highland groups that are part of this study has its traditional definitions of land ownership and usufruct, unwritten rules that are known and respected by all highland societies.¹⁴

Land-tenure systems vary from group to group. Each group also has its inheritance rules for passing land on to succeeding generations and follows prescribed procedures for transferring right of ownership. Among the Chru, for example, the buyer of land sponsors a buffalo sacrifice to which all villagers are invited, particularly the children,

¹⁴ See Appendix F for additional information on land tenure.

since it is they who, in future years, will be the surviving witnesses to the transaction. On this occasion, the price of the land is paid in front of the guests, and a stone smeared with blood from the sacrificial animals is placed on a dike to mark the event.

Where swidden agriculture is practiced, the rule followed by all the highland groups studied is that the swiddens, whether they are lying fallow or are being farmed, are the property of whoever first cleared and cultivated them. Everyone in the village society knows who lays claim to which swiddens, and everyone respects these rights. Among the Ma and Sre, the village Tom Bri, or "Forest Chief," is in charge of regulating all land use within the village territory, and villagers wishing to initiate a swidden must obtain his permission. Other highland groups have similar institutions. The Bahnar, for example, have toring, a territory comprising several villages with corporate ownership of the land and shared hunting rights as well. Non-toring people, called tomoi, are treated as outsiders whether or not they are Bahnar. In order to farm, hunt, or fish in the territory, they must obtain the permission of toring leaders.¹⁵ In similar conventions, the Jeh have the sal ja, a village-owned territory; the Sedang have the cheam beng; and the Pacoh village exercises farming rights over a territory called a cruang. The Rhadé are unique in their po-lan ("proprietor of the

¹⁵P. Guilleminet, Coutumier de la tribu Bahnar des Sedang et des Jarai (de la province de Kontum), Publications of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 32, Paris, 1952, p. 18.

land") system, wherein given territories belong to subclans, and the guardianship of each prescriptively is in the hands of the eldest female of the senior line, whose permission is requisite to farming or woodcutting within the territory.

Where Highlanders have permanent cultivation, the right of ownership is vested in individuals or kin groups. Many of the Lat, Hre, Cua, Chru, Mnong Rlam, Sre, Bahnar, and Jarai practice wet-rice cultivation, and their paddy fields are privately owned, as they are among the Vietnamese. This is also the case with permanent dry-rice fields farmed by the Rengao and Bahnar in the vicinity of Kontum. Near Ban Me Thuot, some small coffee estates are the property of individual Rhadé. Finally, Highlanders of all groups claim ownership of their house sites and kitchen-garden plots.

2. Land-Tenure Policy under the French

In 1925, the French administration had to face the question of land tenure in the highlands when the growing reputation of Darlac as an area of rich and fertile soil caused a land rush. Within a period of several months, over one hundred bids for land, totaling 92,000 hectares, were filed with the colonial administration in Saigon. The bidders were either individuals interested in establishing plantations, or else representatives of large French corporations wishing to extend their investments to tea, coffee, or rubber estates in Vietnam. To meet the demands of this new situation, the French administration undertook a study of the land question in the highlands. As a result, in 1927, Sabatier issued two comprehensive reports, the first concerned largely with the land-tenure question, and the second with recommendations for ways of

coping with the problems involved in developing the area.¹⁶

The first report pointed out that, while some land was unclaimed, there were large areas carefully apportioned by individuals, families, clans, or villages. It emphasized also that land-tenure systems varied from one ethnic group to another, and cited specific information on the Rhadé system.

The second report contained extensive suggestions for land settlement procedures. The essence of the recommendations was that unclaimed land (res nullius) be made immediately available for colonization, and that, with the approval of the colonial administration, a colonizer be granted title to the land. In the case of land claimed by Highlanders, however, a colonist would be entitled only to a bail emphythéotique, or 99-year lease. Also, the bidder for a given piece of land would need not only the approval of the colonial administration but also that of the Highlander (or group of Highlanders) who claimed title to the land. For example, in parts of the Rhadé country it would be essential to have the accord of the po-lan and headmen of the village within the territory concerned. To exemplify the legal procedure, the report included models of existing leases. One of these concerned a M. Maillot of the Paris suburb Neuilly-sur-Seine, who was negotiating for a plot of 25,000 hectares that a French corporation, which he represented, planned to develop with coffee and

¹⁶"Documents de colonisation française en territoires non soumis à la juridiction et à l'administration annamites," Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1927 (manuscript in two parts).

rubber estates. The agreement specified a rental of 97.50 VN\$ (pre-World War II piastres), of which the po-lan Y Nin was to receive 58.50 VN\$, and po-lan Y Blum the remaining 39.00 VN\$. Additional rentals went to several village headmen.

On July 30, 1932, the French administration issued a decree that allowed Highlanders to transfer land, provided the sale did not involve more than thirty hectares and was approved by either the local district chief or the governor of Annam. By implication, this constituted a recognition of the Highlanders' right to own land.

3. The GVN's Land-Tenure Policies

Under the Diem government, as already pointed out, land for which title had not yet been granted was regarded as public land. This policy was first articulated in the Land Development Program (1957) and then in the Highlander Resettlement Program (1958). Its legal basis was established by Decree No. 513-a/DT/CCDD (December 12, 1958) and Memorandum No. 981/BTC/DC (May 28, 1959), both of which said, in essence, that Highlanders had the right to enjoy only the produce of the land they cultivated, implying thereby that they did not have the right of ownership.

The stated aim of the Land Development Program, which was formulated in 1956 and launched in 1957, was to relieve overpopulation in cities and the central coastal plain, and to develop parts of the highlands. Also, although this was never explicitly stated, the program aimed at improving security in the highlands by establishing centers of controlled population in which many of the new inhabitants would be anticommunist northern refugees. Some of these

settlers were lured to the highlands with promises of land and ideal agricultural conditions; some were forcibly relocated, including more than one political undesirable. The program was administered by the Special General Commission for Land Development. Between 1957 and 1963, this Commission established 225 Land Development Centers, with a population of 52,182 families, a total of 274,945 persons. Some 112,443 hectares were brought under cultivation; of these, 3,000 were planted in kenaf and 26,750 in rubber.

After the coup d'état which toppled the Diem government on November 1, 1963, the new government discontinued the program that was so closely associated with President Diem. The Special General Commission for Land Development was abolished, the centers came under the administrative mantle of the provinces in which they were located, and the Agricultural Extension Directorate of the Ministry of Rural Affairs assumed responsibility for technical programs within the centers. As the previous rules against leaving the centers disappeared, their population began to diminish, with a concomitant decline in cultivation.

An ad hoc Committee on Land Development Centers reported in April 1965 that an estimated 7,047 families, comprising more than 35,000 people, had abandoned the centers, and between 3,000 and 4,000 families had moved from one center to another. According to the report, security in the centers had crumbled since 1963, and 25 to 30 per cent of the radios which had been presented to the centers to keep them in contact with province and district headquarters were no longer working. The lack of available young men made it difficult to provide a local defense force. Because of steadily increasing pressure from the

Viet Cong, 22 of the 225 centers had been completely abandoned for lack of security. Crop yields were greatly diminished, and a survey indicated that the rubber estates were in very bad condition.

In August 1965, an authoritative government document reported that the GVN then completely controlled less than 20 per cent of the Land Development Centers in operation. It gave the following breakdown:

Pleiku	23 centers	5 under GVN control
Phu Bon	7 centers	6 relative security*
Darlac	30 centers	7 under GVN control
Quang Duc	9 centers	4 under GVN control
Phuoc Long	26 centers	4 relative security*
Binh Long	7 centers	0 under GVN control
Binh Duong	4 centers	2 relative security*
Phuoc Thanh	8 centers	3 under GVN control
Phuoc Tuy	3 centers	0 under GVN control
Binh Tuy	20 centers	2 under GVN control
Kontum	4 centers	4 relative security*

* Presumably, the term "relative security" meant that the GVN had control only part of the time.

At the same time, the province chief of Darlac pointed out that most of the Vietnamese refugees in that province were North Vietnamese who had fled from their land development centers. For several years, he added, the centers occupied by Vietnamese from the central coastal plain had been controlled by, and served as centers of operation for, the Viet Cong, who had enjoyed the cooperation of the local people.

With the dwindling of population and the breakdown of security, crop yields dropped. At the end of 1963, rice cultivation accounted for 54,500 hectares and secondary crop cultivation was 22,000 hectares. By the end of 1964,

these figures had fallen to 43,000 and 20,000 hectares, respectively. It was estimated that, in 1965, these 1964 figures would go down by another 40 per cent. Industrial crop yields (mainly rubber and kenaf) also declined. Cultivated areas dropped from 26,749 hectares in 1963 to 15,882 in 1965, and of these, only 10,000 hectares were reported to be tended. Although no figures are available for 1966, there are numerous indications that both the population in the centers and the areas under cultivation have continued to decline: Large military operations have taken place near some of the centers in Pleiku Province, the number of refugees from the centers has increased, and USAID province representatives report that more centers are being abandoned.

The Highlander Resettlement Program launched in 1958 was part of the Diem government's policy of total assimilation. Whole highland villages were to be resettled and grouped together in valleys and other areas where their inhabitants would have ready contact with Vietnamese. This, it was thought, would end the isolation of their previous existence in the hills and would prompt them to follow Vietnamese customs. President Diem was particularly eager to have them abandon the traditional swidden agriculture in favor of permanent field cultivation.¹⁷

¹⁷ A prevalent fear at the time was that the Highlanders would burn off all the forest cover in the highlands and thereby cause a change in the weather pattern. For other misconceptions concerning swidden agriculture, see the section on agricultural development, especially pp. 94-95.

As planned under the Resettlement Program, there would be a total of 80 centers with 88,000 Highlanders (the GVN believed this number to represent 12 per cent of the total highland population), who would be settled on 30,000 hectares of land. By February 1959, there were 33 centers with a reported population of 38,000 and encompassing 13,000 hectares. Highlanders were forced to move to these centers, and many complained of poor administration and lack of material assistance. In the An My center in Pleiku Province and the "reservation" at Son Ha, Quang Ngai Province, residents received little more than a third of a hectare per family (as compared to the Vietnamese settlers in the Land Development Centers, who received one hectare per family). By 1960, the program had begun to flounder. A new reservation near Cheo Reo was reported to have been opened, but upon investigation it was found to be only in the planning stage. The same was true of the reservation at Nam Dong, in Thua Thien Province. In Quang Ngai Province the program was given up because of "lack of good land," and in Quang Nam Province officials admitted it to be a failure. By 1961, the Resettlement Program was ended, and, as far as can be determined, none of the reservations has survived.

The Pleiku conference of October 1964 publicly rescinded the two decrees of the Diem era that recognized the Highlanders' right to the produce of their land but not to the land itself. It did not, however, abolish the notion that undeeded land was public land. This concept was contained in GVN land legislation issued both before and after the conference. In Decree No. 26-DD/DB/KS/TT (May 19, 1964), all heads of the Provincial Land Survey Service were directed

to begin surveys of "public lands illegally occupied and cultivated," a total area of an estimated 390,000 hectares. The decree stated that the government would soon provide farmers who had theretofore occupied those lands with "concessions on a temporary or definitive basis."

After the Pleiku conference, Circular No. 16,601b-BCTNT/HC/TC 3 (November 24, 1964), concerning "adjustment of illegal appropriation of public lands for private use and for farming," was issued by the Ministry of Rural Affairs and directed to all province chiefs. It instructed the province chiefs "to advise the population of the adjustment of their illegal use of public lands for farming by means of providing them concessionary ownership within the provincial abilities." These concessionary titles would be limited to ten hectares unless approval for additional land was obtained from the Rural Affairs Ministry and payment made. The decree carefully stipulated "cultivated land," and it warned the province chiefs to be alert to any attempts to enlarge areas now being farmed. Where the illegal occupation was within the limits of "reserved forests," the land first had to be reclassified before any adjustment could be made.¹⁸

In the Saigon Land Registration Seminar of December 1964, the fourteen participating highland leaders brought complaints based on the Highlanders' indisputable ownership of certain lands. Their statements spoke of "privately-owned lands expropriated by local authorities to set up Land Development Centers," adding that "in some areas, when

¹⁸ See Appendix G for the complete text of this decree.

carrying out large-scale deforestation for purpose of cultivation, local authorities have promised compensation by giving a proportionate plot of land to Highlanders farming within the area. . . ." There was also a reference to "Highlanders' private lands sequestered by local authorities for public works." The same tone pervaded the recommendations of the seminar, as, for example, in the assertion of the principle that "Lowlanders and Highlanders alike are entitled to the ownership of the land on which they live and cultivate and are also bound to the obligations imposed by the law." In suggesting ways of carrying out land registration, they differentiated among three categories of land: (a) private ricefields and lands belonging to individuals; (b) public ricefields and lands belonging to the village; and (c) state-owned lands.

As a result of several cadastral surveys carried out in accordance with the aforementioned legislation, some villagers in Tuyen Duc and Darlac provinces were given title to land. On September 18, 1965, there was a symbolic distribution of Tuyen Duc land titles in a ceremony at Dalat presided over by Premier Nguyen Cao Ky and II Corps Commander General Vinh Loc; the actual title award did not take place until the end of November 1965. The recipients were residents of Don Duong District, and most of them were Vietnamese. Of the thirty-eight titles granted to Highlanders, the amount of land involved was as follows:

<u>Amount of Land</u>	<u>No. of Title Recipients Who Were Highlanders</u>	
Less than one hectare	14	(37 %)
One to two hectares	11	(29 %)
Two to three hectares	8	(21 %)
Four to six hectares	2	(5 %)
Seven hectares	2	(5 %)
Eight hectares	<u>1</u>	<u>(2.6%)</u>
Total	38	(99.6%)

Residents of the Rhadé|villages of Buon Kosier and Buon Pan Lam, Darlac Province, received a total of fifty titles, for small holdings such as farmstead sites and garden plots. All these are concessionary titles that cannot be "ceded" (the titles do not say "sell") for a given period -- six years in the case of the Tuyen Duc titles and six months for the Darlac titles. They also stipulate that the GVN may appropriate the land for the public welfare at any time, against just compensation to the owner.

The Commission for Highland Affairs has concerned itself with the matter of land tenure. Major Nguyen Van Nghiem, a staff member, prepared a paper which traced some of the policies of the French administration and the Diem government. In it, he described the Highlanders' concept of land ownership as expressed in their traditional land-tenure systems, and included also a detailed scheme for land registration. On the basis of this report, the Commission for Highland Affairs has drawn up recommendations for new legislation which, essentially, would recognize the Highlanders' claim to land they have been cultivating

and to any land they are holding under traditional tenure systems, and would provide for land registration committees to be organized along the lines suggested.

The government must adopt a policy on the land claims of the Highlanders, for the resolution of this question is essential not only to the Highlanders' attaining a well-defined place in the national framework but also to the economic growth of the highlands. As citizens, Highlanders must enjoy the right to own the land that they have been occupying and farming. Clear title, to be equitable, should also apply to whatever land the claimant has cultivated in the past that is now lying fallow -- a characteristic of the swidden technique -- and it should include mineral rights.

A central government agency is needed which will concern itself primarily with the settlement of the Highlanders' land claims. The agency here suggested, which might be designated the Land Tenure Commission, could be something on the order of the Inter-Ministerial Land Registry Committee proposed by the Special Commission for Highland Affairs. It would then be composed as follows:

Minister of Agriculture:	Chairman
Commissioner for Highland Affairs:	Vice Chairman
Minister of Rural Reconstruction	} Committee Members
Minister of Information and Psywar	
Minister of the Interior	
Minister of Finance	
Minister of Justice	
Minister of Economy	

Director General of the Land Office: Secretary General

Such an agency would be responsible for formulating a land-tenure policy that would be acceptable to the Highlanders and for overseeing its implementation.

Two difficulties likely to be encountered in the attempt to formulate such a policy are the variations in the traditional land-tenure systems of different highland groups, and the practice of swidden agriculture with its many fallow fields whose ownership may be difficult to define. To cope with these problems, the government will need to know the local situation and ascertain the sentiment of the local people if it is to develop a policy that will satisfy them. To this end, there would have to be land-tenure committees at province, district, and village levels, which could be organized along the lines suggested by the Saigon seminar of December 1964 and advocated also in the report of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs. Such committees would have to be composed of local Vietnamese officials and highland leaders at the level in question, and would pass data and opinions on to the central committee in Saigon. They would also serve as channels through which the committee could present its viewpoint and disseminate information to the local populace.

On the basis of information gathered in the course of this author's ethnographic survey, it is possible to formulate the following general recommendations for a land-tenure policy.

- i. The GVN can legitimize the present land holdings of individual Highlanders or kin groups. This will involve granting title for farmstead sites (the area occupied by the house, subsidiary structures, kitchen garden, and corral), gardens and groves not attached to the farmstead,

fields cultivated permanently or with very brief fallow periods (paddy fields and terraces, dry-rice fields, maize fields, cash-crop fields, and some swiddens), and estates.

ii. Where swidden agriculture is practiced, villages might be granted corporate title to a given territory. This would mean corporate ownership by the residents of the village, with title held by the village authorities, and it would embody all land not privately owned according to the above provision. The village, acting as a corporate entity, would regulate the use of the land. This village-owned territory would be similar to the cong tho and cong dien communal lands of Vietnamese villages. As already indicated, a number of highland groups traditionally have village territories, which might serve as models for the granting of title. The amount of land deeded to a given village, however, could be worked out jointly by the Land Registry Committee and the local Land Tenure Committees on the basis of present and projected population.

iii. Of the groups included in the author's ethnographic survey, only the Rhadé have a relatively complex land-tenure arrangement, which is related to their matrilineal kinship system. The French administration, as mentioned previously, recognized the claims of the Rhadé whenever prospective planters bid for land in their area. Whether or not the GVN was to retain the traditional Rhadé system would have to be decided by the Land Registry Committee in conjunction with the Land Tenure Committees of the Rhadé area.

iv. The population shifts due to the war give rise to the question whether Highlanders should be given title

to their former or their present place of habitation. This problem calls for special consideration, both by the local committees and the committee in Saigon. Inevitably, some highland refugees will have been settled in the new areas long enough to be content with them. On the other hand, there will be advantages in returning them to their natal area. It might be considered part of the program of pacification, for, having received aid from the GVN, they may be expected to go home favorably disposed toward the government. Also, returning the refugees will relieve overcrowding in areas such as Dak To in Kontum Province.

4. Cadastral Surveys

One of the obstacles to carrying out any government program for the granting of land title to Highlanders is the lack of cadastral surveys. Those undertaken during the French administration were largely restricted to the plantation areas. A few cadastral surveys have been made in recent times, in areas where titles were awarded. But the problem persists, and it could be overcome in several ways.

(a) The GVN could organize more training programs for cadastral survey personnel. This type of work only requires a three-month training course, for which no more than a very basic elementary-school education is needed. Many qualified Highlanders are available for such training, and their addition to the profession would contribute to the social and economic development of the highland population.

(b) Cadastral surveys might be accelerated by the use of a new technique involving aerial photographs, a

stereo-planograph machine, and a computer. There exists a 1959 series of aerial photographs of 1/40,000 scale for all of South Vietnam, as well as a more recent (1965-66) series of 1/50,000 scale. With controlled photography, it is possible to ascertain the exact scale of a photograph by first enlarging it and putting it into a stereo-planograph. Points marking the limits of a given parcel are then computerized, and the computer determines the exact length and azimuth. These are automatically recorded on a punch card, which not only provides the information necessary for the title but also serves as a record. This method is now being employed for land surveys in An Giang Province, and it may well lend itself to use in the highlands. In addition to permitting such surveys to be done relatively quickly, it may prove a suitable method in insecure areas, which land survey teams cannot enter.

B. Agricultural Development

For highland societies, economic development will mean largely agricultural development. This does not mean that Highlanders must abandon their present agricultural activities in favor of the large-scale cultivation of fruits, vegetables, and industrial crops destined for the market. It means, rather, the introduction of novel methods and tools designed to raise Highlanders from their tribal economic level, wherein they produce primarily subsistence crops, to a peasant economic level at which, in addition to cultivating crops for home consumption, they will engage in the systematic production of cash crops. This change, in turn, will entail other innovations. New

skills and techniques related to the development of cash crops will include ways of processing the crops (particularly industrial crops), marketing, transport, and petty commerce.

The first need in planning agricultural development programs is considerable knowledge about the existing systems of agriculture and the physical environment in which they are carried out. Not only is such knowledge prerequisite to any evaluation of an area's potential for development, but it is also advisable to organize the programs as far as possible within the existing framework, beginning by improving present techniques with a view to increasing the production of some traditional crops. Similarly, it will require basic research into existing conditions to plan the introduction of new crops, for these must be suited both to the socioeconomic circumstances of the Highlanders and to the physical ecology of the area under consideration. Moreover, they must take account of demand on the local, national, and world markets.

The misconceptions about the Highlanders' living patterns and character traits are many. It is not uncommon to find them described as nomads, who indiscriminately burn the jungle as they practice a form of agriculture that is inherently destructive, or as people lacking in motivation and unwilling to change their rude ways.

Two recent publications reflect such views. A United States Information Service document states that "The Montagnard is not nomadic by nature, but moves his habitation as soon as he has exhausted the natural resources of the land he occupies." It goes on to assert that "Montagnard agriculture is characterized by primitive and destructive

methods. Only the great fertility of the soil permits these people to survive at all." As regards the Highlanders' motivation, it says: "Laziness is omnipotent and pillage easier than regular work."¹⁹

In a similar vein, a paper prepared by the GVN Directorate for Agricultural Development includes the following passage about the Highlanders:

Their agricultural methods are so rudimentary that crop failures are frequent, and the soil is becoming more and more exhausted so that no vegetation can grow on it. Those who pass through Pleiku will notice thousands of hectares of bare land around the province capital where cultivation is no longer possible. This is due to repeated burning of forests for cultivation by the Highlanders.²⁰

Later, this paper generalizes that "Highlanders are, all in all, lazy, inactive, averse to troubles of any sort and satisfied with their condition as Mountaineers."

None of the highland ethnic groups in this study is nomadic or even seminomadic. Nor are any other highland groups known to this author. Highlanders, like the Vietnamese, prefer to keep their villages in the same location as long as possible. They will move only if forced to do so by misfortune, such as an epidemic, a natural catastrophe, or the events of war. Those who practice swidden agriculture move their fields by a system of rotation, but their villages remain in situ.

¹⁹"Montagnards of the South Vietnam Highlands," USIS, MOPIX, Saigon, September 1961, pp. 10-11 (mimeographed).

²⁰Rural Affairs Department, Directorate of Agricultural Development, "A Study of How To Guide Highlanders in Their Deforestation for Cultivation in the High Plateau," 1965,

Of the twenty-one groups studied, nine (the Brou, Cil, Halang, Jeh, Katu, Pacoh, Roglai, Sedang, and Stieng) practice swidden agriculture exclusively.²¹ One group, the Lat, practice wet-rice cultivation exclusively. Eleven groups have wet-rice cultivation along with swidden farming; they are the Bahnar, Chrau, Chru, Cua, Hre, Jarai, Ma, Mhong, Rengao, Rhadé, and Sre. Of these, the Chru, Bahnar, and Rengao also have permanent dry-rice fields.

The groups studied yielded numerous examples of entrepreneurship, and with some, this tendency seemed to be on the increase. In addition to cash crops, including coffee, cinnamon, and truck-garden vegetables, there were instances of petty commerce in highland villages in the form of small general-goods shops.

1. Swidden Agriculture

Although the swidden technique varies from one highland group to another and even within individual groups, there are common aspects. Selection of the site for a new swidden is never haphazard. To judge the relative fertility of the soil, Highlanders draw upon knowledge of the forest and soils passed down through generations. This is true even of those who also rely on omens, such as the cry of a particular animal or a sign in a dream.

pp. 1-3. (There is nothing to indicate that the Pleiku area was ever forested. This "bare land" is covered with grass that provides feed for herds of cattle raised by the local Highlanders.)

²¹See Appendix F for the various activities by which Highlanders make a livelihood.

The division of labor is the same among all groups: Men fell the large trees, women and children cut brush and small trees. As much as possible, fires are controlled by the men. It is also the men who make holes in the ground with dibble sticks, while the women follow to plant the seeds. All groups employing the swidden method rotate their fields. After cultivating for a given number of consecutive years, they leave the fields fallow to allow a substantial new growth to mature before recultivating.

Among the chief variations in the swidden method is the length of cultivation, which depends on a group's assessment of the fertility of the soil. The Mnong Gar, for example, normally farm a swidden only one year. The Brou usually cultivate fields for one year also, but if floral manifestations of fertility (such as large trees) are present, they will continue for three consecutive years. Some of the Chrau farm their swiddens for a minimum of three years, and it is not unusual for them to farm certain fields as long as eight years. The Rengao normally work a swidden for three years, but in the vicinity of Dak Kong Peng, rapidly growing bamboo enables them to cultivate their swiddens in alternate years. The Rhadé Kpa, in the Ban Me Thuot area, farm swiddens for anywhere from three to eight years, and it is not uncommon for household groups to work up to five swiddens simultaneously, although not in contemporaneous cycles. The Stieng follow the same pattern of cultivating several fields at the same time, abandoning those that manifest soil exhaustion after the first year.

2. Wet-Rice Cultivation

Where they have level or nearly-level land and available water, either from sufficient rainfall or from water sources, the Highlanders usually cultivate wet rice in paddy fields. Some groups have their paddy fields in terraces on hillsides. As mentioned before, the Lat, who live in the vicinity of Dalat, are the only Highlanders to practice wet-rice farming exclusively. Their paddy fields cover the upland valley floor, and terraces extend up the slope of the Lang Bian Mountain. In central Vietnam, most of the Cua and Hre people, who live in the interior valleys of Quang Tin and Quang Ngai provinces, have wet rice as their staple food. They grow it in paddy fields, on the valley bottom and in terraces on either side of the valley. The Chru people in the Valley of Dran, in Tuyen Duc Province, have for centuries farmed wet rice on level land and in terraces, using a particularly sophisticated irrigation system. Recently, some of them have begun transplanting their wet rice.

Many of the Chrau in Long Khanh and Phuoc Tuy provinces cultivate wet rice, using the same techniques as their Vietnamese neighbors. They sell part of their rice to nonfarming Vietnamese and Chrau. West of Pleiku, both the Bahnar and the Jarai have paddy fields, and the Jarai near Plei Mrong farm wet rice along the streams and rivers. In the vicinity of Di Linh (Djiring) in Lam Dong Province, the Sre have extensive wet-rice fields, and some have begun to use the transplanting method. The Mhong Rlam of Lac Thien District, Darlac Province, have long farmed wet rice; but unlike the other wet-rice cultivators, they do

not use a plow. Small paddy fields, found on bottom land near Kontum, are farmed by the Bahnar and Rengao.

3. Dry-Rice Cultivation

In addition to the wet rice grown in paddy fields, the Chru cultivate dry rice in fields slightly higher than the paddies, and usually adjacent to them. This kind of rice agriculture is predominant among the Bahnar and Rengao in the vicinity of Kontum. All these groups plow, harrow, and carefully weed the fields during the growing period. According to Bahnar informants, the period of cultivation depends on soil fertility and may be anywhere from five to ten years. When diminishing crops indicate soil exhaustion, the field is left fallow for from two to four years. After wild growth has appeared, the field is enclosed and used for pasturage. Some of the Chru, Bahnar, and Rengao also grow maize in these dry fields.

4. Secondary Crops

The Highlanders cultivate a wide range of secondary crops in kitchen gardens, sometimes in the paddy fields, and also in the swiddens. The most common of these is maize. The Cheo Reo Jarai plant maize in the fields, and then sow the dry rice between the rows of young maize plants. Other groups, such as the Rhadé Kpa, devote a section of the swidden to maize. The Lat grow maize in large hill-side fields. Another common secondary crop is tobacco, which sometimes is grown in the swiddens but more often in a garden near the house, and is chiefly for family consumption.

5. Cash Crops

Although some highland groups have been found to raise cash crops, traditionally or as part of a recent development, cash-cropping cannot be considered a widespread economic activity. There is evidence that, as early as the eleventh century, highland groups inland from the coastal plain traded produce with the Cham, and their trade may have included agricultural crops. Bourotte reports that in the seventeenth century, as the Vietnamese people spread southward into the former Cham territory, they began to purchase cinnamon, elephants, ivory, rhinoceros tusks, wood, wax, rattan, and betel from the Highlanders with whom they came into contact.²² The Gua, of Quang Ngai Province, continue to be the primary suppliers of cinnamon, most of which is exported because of its high value on the world market. Although some cinnamon is obtained by the method of stripping bark from trees that grow wild in the mountain forests, most of it comes from trees cultivated by the Gua.

In central Vietnam, trade of this type continues, although in some areas the war has halted or diminished it. Among the Brou, Pacoh, and Katu, trade groups composed of able-bodied villagers still amass agricultural produce and forest products, which they carry on their backs to settlements in the Vietnamese lowlands to barter for salt, oil, metal, and cloth. Vietnamese traders, in turn, come into

²² Bernard Bourotte, "Essai d'histoire des populations montagnards du Sud-Indochinois jusqu'à 1945," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Vol. 30, Saigon, 1955, p. 46.

the remote interior highland valleys by boat to visit villages and buy certain products. In the Song Ma River area of Phu Bon Province, the Jarai have long grown sesame seeds, which they sell to itinerant Vietnamese buyers who annually visit the area after the harvest.

Some of the Rhadé Kpa in the Ban Me Thuot area have coffee estates. One Rhadé planter, having worked on a large French estate, purchased land with his savings and planted robusta coffee seedlings. He also providently planted banana trees and pineapples that would provide income while the coffee trees grew. At the present time, the estate has approximately 5,000 trees, and its owner would like to acquire more land on which to expand his cultivation of coffee, pineapples, and bananas.

Many villagers throughout the highlands sell animals, as well as garden, grove, and forest products in local markets, but they do so only sporadically, usually when they have an exceptional need for cash or for personal and household commodities. They do not, for the most part, plan their agriculture with a view to producing crops for sale. Rice, even though it is a staple food crop everywhere in the highlands, is rarely sold. Among the notable exceptions are the Chrau, many of whom sell paddy to neighboring Vietnamese and to nonfarming Chrau. There are areas, however, where cash-cropping has become more widespread. Some of the Chru in the Valley of Dran (Tuyen Duc Province), for example, have been cultivating more cash crops, and have begun to sell these in Nha Trang and Phan Rang. One farmer recently imported seed potatoes from Holland. In the vicinity of Hau Bon (Cheo Reo), the capital of Phu Bon Province, a number of Jarai villagers

are planting vegetables and fruits for sale in the market. As was pointed out to the author, this was in response to the increased demand for fresh foods that came with the influx of Vietnamese civil servants and military, most of whom brought their families with them.

In the case of at least one group, the pattern has been reversed. The Lat, who live on the slope of the Lang Bian Mountain in the vicinity of Dalat, until recently cultivated a wide range of vegetables intended for sale in the Dalat market. However, as large numbers of Vietnamese moved into the area and greatly increased garden cultivation, the Lat could no longer compete successfully, and most of them abandoned cash-cropping.

C. Suggestions for the Successful Economic Development of the Highlands

1. A Research Center

A center of this kind in the highlands -- it could be called Center for Highlands Research -- would serve the invaluable function of generating the ethnographic, silvacultural, and agricultural knowledge, as well as research on soils and animal husbandry, without which the area's economic development cannot be properly planned and implemented. Such a center would also be the agency for coordinating research, a meeting place for those concerned with highland development, and a repository for books and documents on the highlands, as well as for material on the highlands of neighboring countries. Finally, it would serve as a site for agricultural experimentation and for training the cadres who are to introduce improved techniques and new crops to the villagers.

A center similar to the one here proposed exists in Thailand. It was established in 1965 as a result of the recommendations of a socioeconomic survey published in 1962 by the Department of Public Welfare of the Thai Ministry of Interior. Called the Center for Hill Tribe Research, this organization is affiliated with the University of Chiangmai, and is housed in an attractive modern building in that city. Its stated objectives are:

- (a) To be a center for research projects in the fields of economics, social welfare, education, health, and anthropological studies of the Hill Tribes in northern Thailand. The government will utilize the information from the research projects for hill tribe development and welfare.
- (b) To be a center for collecting books, films, journals, and other materials concerned with the cultures of Hill Tribes in Thailand and other countries of Southeast Asia.
- (c) To be a center for seminars and international conferences to promote the exchange of knowledge.
- (d) To be a center for cooperation with educational and research institutions interested in research on minority problems.
- (e) To be a center for the promotion of better understanding between the Hill Tribes and the Thai people. Through this center, the hill people will be informed of the government's policies and projects aimed at improving their welfare, thus ensuring their loyalty in strengthening the natural security.²³

²³The Hill Tribe Research Center, Public Welfare Department, Ministry of Interior, Bangkok, October 1965.

As suggested previously, agricultural development programs should be so organized as to utilize the existing framework to improve the techniques already being used. This would mean, among other things, increasing the production of traditional crops, thereby in some instances producing cash crops. The task of the research effort will be not only to provide the necessary knowledge of existing economic activities but to reexamine some prejudices concerning these activities. It would be wrong to assume, for example, that all forms of swidden agriculture are destructive. Thus, H. C. Conklin, in his excellent monograph on swidden agriculture among the Hanunoo people of Mindoro Island in the Philippines, distinguishes between two general types of swidden agriculture, each of which can be further broken down into subtypes. The partial systems involve relationships which "reflect predominantly only the economic interests of its participants" (as in some kinds of cash crop, resettlement, and squatter agriculture), while the integral systems involve relationships which "stem from a more traditional, year-round, community-wide, largely self-contained, and ritually-sanctioned way of life." Research done in the Philippines, says Conklin, indicates that partial systems may be less productive and more destructive than the integral systems. Yet he warns that, even though some systems of swidden agriculture are destructive, it is useless to generalize about them when it comes to such things as "prohibitive laws."²⁴

²⁴H. C. Conklin, Hanunoo Agriculture: A Report on an Integral System of Shifting Cultivation in the Philippines, FAO Forestry Development Paper No. 12, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, 1957, pp. 154-155.

Moormann and his collaborators who conducted research into land use in Thailand came to this conclusion: "There is nothing basically harmful in the present system of shifting cultivation. Any form of agriculture must inevitably result in destruction of forest, but in the area seen, land under cultivation was but a small proportion of the whole area . . . and there were no signs of erosion."²⁵ Pendleton, who also did his research in Thailand, has pointed out some of the more positive aspects of swidden cultivation:

In kaingining (the general term for swidden agriculture used in the Philippines and sometime also used by other investigators in Southeast Asia), the forest is slashed and burned in the dry season. Then seeds of food and fiber crops are dibbled into the surface soil without plowing or otherwise stirring it. The ashes of the forest cover contain most of the required plant nutrient material. The cultivator grows one, two, or sometimes three annual crops on one kaingined plot before abandoning it and clearing another piece of land. Abandoned land will often grow into forest again.

Kaingining compensates for the infertility of upland soil by land rotation, with the forest as a long-term cover crop. Forest trees and shrubs often root more deeply than the roots of annual crops, and bring valuable nutrients to the surface. Moreover, forest trees and brush choke out noxious weeds and retain the desirable physical structure of the soil.²⁶

²⁵F. R. Moormann, K.R.M. Anthony, and S. Panichapong, Soil Survey Reports of the Land Development Department: No. 20. Note on the Soils and Land Use in the Hills of Tak Province, Ministry of National Development, Soil Survey Division, Report SSR-20-1964, Bangkok, March 1964, p. 10.

²⁶R. L. Pendleton, Thailand, New York, 1962, pp. 157-159.

Cash-crop experimentation, which a research center could provide, is essential to economic development. Some experimentation has been conducted at the Bao Loc (Blao) Agricultural College, and some is being done by the Provincial Agricultural Service. Most experiments, however, are conducted in the Agricultural Training Centers that are being run by the International Voluntary Service (IVS) in conjunction with the Ministry of Revolutionary Development and USAID.²⁷ In these centers, IVS personnel, assisted in some cases by Taiwanese technicians, work at improving gardening techniques, the use of natural and chemical fertilizers,²⁸ and new crops. One center is trying out new grasses that are essential to any cattle industry. Short courses in gardening techniques -- including use of organic and chemical fertilizers -- are given to groups of highland villagers in all of the centers. There is not much emphasis as yet on either food crops or industrial crops.

The aforementioned study by Moormann et al. contains a useful discussion of various cash crops that the Hill Tribes of Thailand might grow, which has some applicability to the situation in Vietnam. The authors suggest several

²⁷In 1966 there were eight Agricultural Training Centers: in Kontum, Pleiku, Tuyen Duc, Bao Loc, Phu Bon, Ninh Thuan, Quang Duc, and Phuoc Long. One more center is being planned at Quang Ngai and another in Darlac, and, budget permitting, centers will be organized in 1967 in Vinh Long and Long Khanh provinces.

²⁸At the present time, it would be well not to place great emphasis on chemical fertilizer, whose high price -- the result of price-juggling on the Saigon market, transportation costs, and other factors -- cannot be supported by the marginal economies of most highland groups.

tree crops, noting that, because of their need for organized care, these might best be grown as communal village crops rather than in individually operated plots. One such crop is tea. Although tea is being cultivated in parts of the highlands, particularly in Lam Dong and Pleiku provinces, it may be worth growing as a cash crop in areas where there is a demand for it in local markets. The Cua, for example, have long been cultivating tea for sale to the Vietnamese.

Coffee is another possible cash crop. As noted earlier, some is being grown by Rhadé villagers in the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot, with one planter having raised 5,000 coffee trees of the robusta variety. Tung oil plants look less promising, because the world market for tung oil is unpredictable. (In the past, Communist China has provided approximately 65 per cent of the needed oil, and the future development of the market depends on the extent to which China will participate in world trade.) Rubber cultivation is suited only to certain areas of the highlands, and the unsuccessful attempts to grow it in some Pleiku Land Development Centers should serve as a warning. (One USAID province representative with experience in rubber culture has pointed out that the area is too dry and the soil poorly suited to rubber, and that the plant requires sophisticated care of a kind that settlers from the central coastal plain apparently cannot give.)

At the high elevations in the vicinity of Dalat it may be possible to cultivate pyrethrum. The oil from the pyrethrum plant is used in pesticides and is in increasing demand on the world market. Chilling is necessary to stimulate the buds. Ginger could be grown widely in the highlands, as could cardamom. As pointed out above, the

Cua gather wild cinnamon bark and also cultivate cinnamon trees. Cultivation might be expanded, but even where conditions are favorable, it would not be possible to predict the quality of the cinnamon. Moormann and his fellow-authors, in their Thailand study, list additional oil-producing plants. Among them is lemon grass, which many Highlanders grow in their kitchen gardens. It is used as a spice, and its cultivation as an industrial cash crop is possible. Finally, the same authors note the possibility of farming drug plants in the highlands of Thailand; without specifying particular plants, they suggest examining the drug plants used in Chinese pharmacology. This might be worth exploring also for the highlands of Vietnam.

Kenaf and ramie, both quite successfully grown as cash crops in some of the Land Development Centers, also could be cultivated by the Highlanders. The expansion of kenaf production in Thailand is described as follows in a U.S. Government report:

Gains made in the production of kenaf over the past few years have been impressive. From 1950 to 1958 production ranged around 20,000 metric tons, but in 1959 it abruptly began to expand, increasing almost ten-fold by 1961. In 1950 kenaf ranked thirteenth among all crops in acreage planted, but by 1961 it had risen to fourth place. This rapid increase is attributed largely to poor crops in other jute- and kenaf-producing countries, namely India and Pakistan; active government encouragement in the form of minimum price guarantee; free distribution of seeds; and the development of processing and transport facilities.²⁹

²⁹U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Regional Analysis Division, Foreign Agricultural

The report also points out that maize has proved an increasingly successful cash crop in Thailand. Prior to 1950 little was grown, as maize is not a popular grain in Thailand itself. But as the demand for it as an export item rose, so did production. (Eighty per cent of the maize exported goes to Japan, where it is in demand as a feed grain in the rapidly expanding livestock industry.) Another crop, also grown by the Highlanders, which has been increasingly successful as a cash crop in Thailand is manioc. It is processed into tapioca flour and exported to Europe and the United States.

2. Programs for Developing New Techniques and Skills

The change from a tribal to a peasant economy will necessitate a variety of new knowledge and methods other than crop-raising, in which Highlanders should be trained.

(a) Processing of crops. A number of cash crops, particularly industrial crops, will require some processing after harvest. Moormann et al. in their Thai study indicate that oil-producing crops require distillation facilities nearby. They contend that the distilling process is not difficult and could be learned by "local farmers." They also recommend a document entitled "Stills for Essential Oils," prepared by the Tropical Products Institute in Great Britain, for information on the kind of machinery that is available.³⁰

Economic Report No. 8, Agricultural Diversification and Economic Development in Thailand, A Case Study, Washington, March 1963, pp. 8-11.

³⁰Pp. 8-9.

(b) Marketing of produce. As they engage in more cash-crop farming, Highlanders will have to learn more sophisticated marketing methods than their present ones, and to develop their own commercial activities, rather than rely on Chinese and Vietnamese entrepreneurs. We have already noted some of the early history of trade between highland groups and the Cham, when the latter ruled what is now central Vietnam. Beginning in the seventeenth century, as the Vietnamese expanded southward along the coastal plain, they, too, traded with the Highlanders, who provided cinnamon, elephants, ivory, rhinoceros tusks, wood, wax, rattan, and betel.³¹ At the present time, there are numerous instances of land groups that sell produce. To reiterate some of the examples cited earlier, Vietnamese merchants in Tra Bong District of Quang Ngai Province purchase cinnamon from the Gua people; itinerant Vietnamese merchants buy sesame from Jarai farmers in the Song Ma River area in Phu Bon Province; and the Chrau wet-rice farmers sell paddy to Vietnamese and to fellow-Chrau who do not farm.

The Jarai in the vicinity of Cheo Reo and some of the Chru in the Valley of Dran in Tuyen Duc Province have been increasing their production of fruits and vegetables destined for the market. Here, the most interesting example of entrepreneurship is that of Mr. Touprong Hiu, a Chru farmer, who not only cultivates a very wide range of cash crops but also transports them to markets in Nhatrang and Phan Rang in rented trucks and sells directly to Vietnamese

³¹Bourotte, p. 46.

and Chinese merchants. Finally, the aforementioned Rhadé who operates a coffee estate of 5,000 trees sells its produce to a merchant in Ban Me Thuot.

These examples of entrepreneurial initiative point to a potential that needs developing. In devising ways of encouraging the Highlanders to vend more of their produce, possibly the best approach would be through the organization of marketing cooperatives. Such a program could be tried in one area and its success carefully observed. Already Mr. Touprong Hiu and a group of Chru farmers in the Valley of Dran have plans for a cooperative that, they claim, has a possible membership of 3,000 Highlanders of various ethnic groups. Some Rhadé farmers in the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot also have expressed interest in forming a cooperative. The Highlanders will learn much from actual experience of this kind, but they will also need some assistance from the GVN. (Had such assistance been available, the Vietnamese competition in the Dalat market might not have forced the Lat to give up growing cash-crop vegetables.)

(c) Transport. Efficient and low-cost transport is essential to economic development in the highlands. It must be extended to the more remote villages to increase their contact with the outside. For the present, this could be accomplished with three-wheel motor vehicles of the kind that now take people and some produce to and from villages near main roads that serve the market centers in province and district capitals. As the cultivation of cash crops develops, these carriers will be essential in getting the produce to the market. Eventually, they will no longer suffice; the lines of communication will have

to be extended and improved, and the three-wheel transport will give way to the truck.

With a successful agricultural development it will become desirable for Highlanders to participate in the mechanics of transport. At the present time, nearly all of them rely on hired transport. But, as they become more fully engaged in a cash economy and their standard of living rises, either individually or through such agencies as marketing cooperatives, they will want to own their means of transport. The GVN could assist them and advance this process through loans (possibly using the National Agricultural Credit Organization for this purpose) and by organizing automotive maintenance and repair training for villagers.

(d) Petty commerce. One by-product of agricultural development in the highlands undoubtedly will be the expansion of petty commerce, as more cash becomes available and the Highlanders' need for manufactured items increases. Although thus far this activity has been left largely to the Vietnamese, Highlanders have increasingly participated in it in the past five years.

One of the effects of the Civilian Indigenous Defense Group program has been to introduce many Highlanders to a cash economy. A large number of the CIDG recruits are young men from villages where barter still dominates economic exchange. For those who have not previously served in the French or Vietnamese armies, it may be the first experience of receiving cash for services. Certainly, it would be safe to say that it is the most cash that any of the CIDG personnel have ever received.

When CIDG camps were established throughout the highlands, Vietnamese merchants began opening small shops -- general stores, tailoring shops, and bar-restaurants -- to cater to the troops. Little by little, however, Highlanders (usually dependents of Strike Force personnel or interpreters) opened similar shops, several of them in the II Corps area. Near the camp (now closed) at Buon Beng, close to Cheo Reo, Highlanders set up several general-goods stores and bar-restaurants. One shop owner, a member of the Strike Force, explained to the author that he had learned his marketing methods from the Vietnamese.

In highland villages, too, shopkeeping has increased in recent years. In the Rhadé village of Buon Ki, a villager who had returned from his military service opened a general-goods shop in 1959, and three fellow-villagers have since followed his example. At Buon Kosier, a Rhadé village near Ban Me Thuot, three villagers opened small shops during the first six months of 1966. One proprietor is a former member of the Special Forces Strike Force; another is a refugee hamlet chief from Buon H'drah. At Diom, a Chru village in the Valley of Dran in Tuyen Duc Province, the son of the village chief left his studies to open a small general-goods shop, the first to be operated by a Chru.

Petty commerce, traditional among the Vietnamese, is a novel enterprise for the Highlanders. Activities such as those mentioned could be encouraged if the GVN were to launch programs through which to instruct Highlanders in basic methods of marketing -- the simple economics of petty commerce -- and undertook to grant small loans at very low interest.

Appendix A

ASPIRATIONS AND ENTREATIES OF HIGHLANDERS IN DARLAC
PROVINCE: PRESENTED AT THE PLEIKU CONFERENCE,
OCTOBER 16, 1964

I. PRIORITY (request immediate implementation within one or two weeks)

A. Policy

Request promulgation of a special policy for the protection and support of Highlanders. The policy should consist of three primary principles, as follows:

1. Both Lowlanders and Highlanders are citizens of Vietnam and, as such, should be treated in a uniform manner.

2. Since Highlanders are less civilized than Lowlanders, the Government should reserve certain privileges for Highlanders so that they will be able to raise their standards to that of the Lowlanders.

3. To protect the various tribes, the Government should respect the customs, manners, habits and culture of these individual tribes. Any changes in customs and manners should be brought about by themselves.

In compliance with the policy prescribed above, all Government departments, as well as agencies, should promulgate specific regulations covering all decrees aimed at safeguarding and assisting Highlanders in their efforts to achieve rapid improvement.

B. Administration

1. Request establishment of a Highlanders' representative committee in each province and a national

committee. The office of the latter will be located in the Prime Minister's palace to assist the Government in solving problems relating to Highland people.

2. Request immediate transfer to Highland posts of those Government officials assigned to the Lowlands by the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, such as Mr. Rcom Rok, Administrative Chief Clerk in Pleiku, who was transferred to Quang Nam. More than once he has submitted his request for transfer, which the Department of the Interior has failed to grant.

3. Request removal of corrupt Highlander officials, such as the Deputy Province Chief and the Assistant District Chief, who are harmful to the people. The Highlanders will recommend to the authorities for selection persons with ability and clean records.

4. Request additional assignment of a Deputy Province Chief to the provinces of: Quang Duc, Tuyen Duc, Lam Dong; as well as District Chiefs and Assistant District Chiefs in the areas that do not have any.

5. Request assignment of Highlander officials, qualified to hold such positions as Service Chief or Assistant Service Chief, to special services and offices in Highland region provinces.

6. Request that establishment of the Office for Highlander Affairs, under the Prime Minister, be directed by Highlanders. Owing to the present situation, Highlanders do not have sufficient men with necessary qualifications for many posts. Therefore, it is requested that Highlanders hold command posts such as Chief of Office, Chief of Division, Service Chief, Bureau Chief, etc., with the technical assistance of the Lowlanders.

C. Military

1. Replacement of all CIDG camp commanders in the Highlands by Highlander ARVN officers.
2. Request that Highlanders be given command of any unit made up of Highlanders, such as Regional Forces and Reconnaissance Forces, while any units consisting entirely of Lowlanders would remain under command of Lowland officers.
3. Request return of Highlanders who have been forced to serve with a Catholic priest at Camau since 1960.
4. Approval for young Highlanders with high school diplomas to take the Thu Duc Reserve Officer course, Session 19.
5. Request opening of a special NCO course for Highland NCOs.

D. Economy

Request cancellation of two documents signed by the former Government, Decree No. 153 (1956) and official letter No. 981 (1959), concerning the land property of Highlanders.

E. Cultural

1. Request that teaching of the Highlander dialect (mother tongue) be permitted in primary classes effective the school year 1964-65.
2. Teachers to return to their own tribes to teach in their own languages.

F. Social

1. Establishment of Highland student sponsor associations from the central Government to district level.

2. Establishment of overnight bivouac areas for Highlanders at chief provincial towns and districts.

II. LONG RANGE (implementation in one to three months)

A. Political

Promulgation of a specific regulation for the Highlanders from every point of view:

1. Administrative
2. Military
3. Economic
4. Cultural-educational

B. Administration

1. Legislative: Highlanders to be permitted to elect their deputies freely.

2. Executive: The central Government should have representatives of Highland people at the Prime Minister's office and at lower-level agencies in charge of Highlander affairs.

3. Request promulgation of land development rules and regulations.

4. Request that province and district names such as Quang Duc, Phu Bon, Tuyen Duc, Lam Dong, and counties, etc. be changed back to local names used by local people.

5. Judiciary: To retain their customs, manners, and habits, Highland people are to set up customs-and-manners courts from village up to province level.

C. Military

1. Organization of a particular Highland force, numbering from 25,000 to 50,000 soldiers, to be commanded by the Highlanders.

2. Request opening of an officer training academy and NCO schools especially for Highlanders.

3. Request that display of Highlanders' flag be allowed.

4. At the General Command and Command within tactical zones, there should be a Highlander assistant to settle all problems concerning Highlander soldiers.

5. Request publication of a special document establishing procedures covering the compensation to [survivors of] Highland civilians killed in the anti-Communist struggle.

D. Economy

1. Issue of bulldozers to each Highland district - minimum of two (2) units.

2. Training of more technical cadres.

3. Establishment of consumer and agricultural cooperatives for Highland people - a minimum of one main office at each district.

4. Request that the Government lend money to Highland officials and soldiers for the construction of houses.

E. Social Culture

1. Special preference to Highland students to attend national high schools and universities, and the opening of additional seventh grades for Highland students.

2. Assisting Highland students during exams for liberal arts or technical diplomas.

3. Scholarships to be granted to Highland students.

4. To continue local culture and to maintain the language as well as the writing of Highland people, we request that the teaching of the mother tongue be allowed through the elementary school during the coming year.

F. Welfare

1. Training of more public health workers at all levels.

2. Construction of more public health installations (dispensaries and hospitals from village up to province level).

III. HIGHLAND PACIFICATION

Request that the Highland people themselves pacify the Highland by means of:

1. Expediting the establishment of Highlander units, as prescribed above in Paragraph C, in order to insure security within the Highland territory.

2. Consolidating small villages into larger agglomerations in locations chosen by the Highland people with approval of the authorities.

3. Organizing the training and equipping of Combat Youth in order to safeguard security within new locations.

c/o Provisional Highland Peoples'
Representative Committee
Darlac Province
Y-Char-Hdok

Ban Me Thuot
October 5, 1964

Appendix B

ADDRESS PRESENTED BY MR. Y DHE ADRONG, THE CHIEF
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FULRO (FRONT UNIFIÉ DE LUTTE DES
RACES OPPRIMÉES), ON THE OCCASION OF THE HIGHLANDER-
LOWLANDER SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE, PLEIKU,
OCTOBER 17, 1966

I respectfully greet the honored leaders of the Government, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, all representatives of the Allied nations, and my fellow Highland delegates.

First of all, I would like to express my appreciation to the leaders of the Government for assembling us here to see the valuable work they have done on behalf of our race, particularly in the organization of military training. In our desire to move forward, however, we would also like the Government to aid in raising the standard of living of our people, and in making us equal to our Vietnamese brothers in all respects.

In addition, we have specific aspirations. We still want a Bill of Rights for the Highlanders, and we take this occasion to state such a desire. Specifically, this includes:

1. The right to own our lands.
2. The right to education for our people.
3. The right to speak our own languages and have our people learn to read and write these languages.

These are basic rights for all the races of the world. Before this illustrious gathering, we would like to point out that we were under French colonial rule for 63 years -- from 1891 until 1954. The French and the Vietnamese Emperor Bao Dai respected our rights and

our customs. With the new Government of Diem, the usurper, however, our rights and laws were ignored, and the Highlanders know well it was due to Diem that conflicts were created between the Highlanders and the Vietnamese.

The present Government is very different from that of Diem. It has shown justice in its treatment of the Highlanders, and here we, the representatives of FULRO, would like to express our gratitude to:

General Nguyen Van Thieu, Chief of State
General Nguyen Cao Ky, Prime Minister
General Vinh Loc, Commander of the II Corps
Mr. Paul Nur, Chief of the Special Commission
for Highland Affairs

It is through their sense of justice and honesty that things have changed. We would also like to mention here the letter numbered 641/WP/VP/M, dated August 18, 1966, which has satisfied all of the FULRO, so that they gladly attended this conference with the aim of uniting with the Vietnamese Government in fighting the Viet Cong. We would like to remind the Government that the Highlanders shed blood for the independence of Vietnam, but when independence was gained, the Highland people lost the right to govern their own territory.

In the present war, we fight at your side and we think that, in exchange for our blood, we should be granted a Bill of Rights for the Highlanders. We persevere in our fight against the Viet Cong and, as a result, our people suffer. We have sacrificed our lives, although the Vietnamese Government has not helped us. We realize the importance of the struggle against the Viet Cong and we hope that, now, the Government of Vietnam will hear our case with honesty and justice.

The Bill of Rights must be delivered by the heads of the Vietnamese Government and witnessed by representatives of the United States and other Allied countries.

After the deliverance of the Bill of Rights, we hope that there will be no more conflicts between the Vietnamese and the Highlanders, and that there will be unity.

I respectfully salute the officials, Highland delegates, and all present.

Appendix C

STATISTICAL DATA ON HIGHLANDER, CHAM, KHMER, AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT SCHOOLS
FOR THE YEAR 1966-1967*

PROVINCE	NO. OF SCHOOLS			CLASS-ROOMS	CLASSES	NO. OF TEACHERS			NO. OF STUDENTS			NO. OF BOARDING SCHOOLS	NO. OF BOARDERS		
	Prim	Elem	Total			Male	Female	Total	Boy	Girl	Total		Boy	Girl	Total
Highlander Schools															
Tuyen-Duc	3	2	5	18	22	18	2	20	592	202	794	3	270	130	400
Darlac	4	47	51	99	135	109	32	141	2,889	1,279	4,168	6	792	359	1,151
Kontum	2	14	16	51	58	58	6	64	1,519	510	2,029	5	540	10	550
Lam Dong	1	10	11	21	22	22	0	22	553	64	617	2	346	24	370
Phu Bon	1	3	4	17	28	28	1	29	1,059	291	1,350	2	330	40	370
Pleiku	2	8	10	33	36	33	0	33	1,568	128	1,696	6	820	80	900
Quang Duc	4	5	9	27	33	29	5	34	587	227	814	3	180	120	300
TOTAL	17	89	106	266	334	297	46	343	8,767	2,701	11,468	27	3,278	763	4,041
Binh Thuan	0	3	3	5	6	5	0	5	142	74	216	0	0	0	0
Khanh Hoa	1	4	5	15	15	14	0	14	357	133	490	1	300	80	380
Ninh Thuan	0	5	5	6	10	5	1	6	141	67	208	0	0	0	0
Phu Yen	0	4	4	5	5	6	0	6	115	80	195	0	0	0	0
Quang Ngai	3	2	5	17	21	13	2	15	465	205	670	0	0	0	0
Quang Tri	0	2	2	3	3	3	0	3	52	0	50	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	4	20	24	51	60	46	3	49	1,272	559	1,831	1	300	80	380
Binh Long	1	0	1	5	6	6	0	6	255	38	293	1	230	20	250
Binh Tuy	0	1	1	4	4	1	1	2	29	45	74	0	0	0	0
Long Khanh	0	7	7	13	18	6	9	15	307	246	553	0	0	0	0
Phuoc Long	2	2	4	9	18	10	0	10	184	89	273	4	335	15	350
TOTAL	3	10	13	28	46	23	10	33	775	420	1,195	5	565	35	600
GRAND TOTAL	24	119	143	345	440	366	59	425	10,814	3,680	14,494	33	4,143	878	5,021
Cham Schools															
Binh Thuan	4	2	6	20	28	25	2	27	619	450	1,069				
Ninh Thuan	7	9	16	50	58	46	1	47	1,379	845	2,224				
TOTAL	11	11	22	70	86	71	3	74	1,998	1,295	3,293				
Khmer Schools (Pali Pagoda)															
An Giang	0	3	3	8	9	7	0	7	275	234	509				
Ba Xuyen	20	0	20	22	25	19	2	21	437	0	437				
Chau Doc	1	8	9	19	21	13	4	17	929	455	1,384				
Phong Dinh	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	38	27	65				
Vinh Binh	1	25	26	49	51	35	4	39	1,343	925	2,268				
TOTAL	22	37	59	99	107	75	10	85	3,022	1,641	4,663				
Agricultural Development Schools															
Phu Yen	1	0	1	0	5	3	0	3	38	18	56				
Binh Long	1	4	5	0	16	11	0	11	276	235	511				
Kien Giang	0	3	3	0	9	7	0	7	213	191	404				
Phuoc Long	2	1	3	0	19	24	0	24	309	278	587				
TOTAL	4	8	12	0	49	45	0	45	836	722	1,558				

*Issued by the Chief of the Education Bureau, Directorate of Primary Education, Saigon, April 1966.

Appendix D

OUTLINE OF THE ACTION PROGRAM OF THE SPECIAL
COMMISSION FOR HIGHLAND AFFAIRS

I. CONCEPTION

The activities of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs are aimed at implementing the Government policy toward the Highlanders as announced. Under this conception, the activities of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs will tend to achieve these goals:

A. Improve the Highlanders' living conditions in political, administrative, economic, cultural, social fields - to lift Highlanders out of the current state of underdevelopment in the near future, and to permit them to catch up with national progress.

B. Tighten up the brotherhood between Lowlanders and Highlanders to achieve the goals of national concord and community advancement.

C. Induce Highlanders of all walks of life to contribute to the anti-Communist effort.

D. Try to bring over to the national cause, as soon as possible, all dissident and pro-Communist individuals.

II. COURSE OF ACTION

According to the Arrê[^]te concerning its organization, the Special Commission for Highland Affairs has the following tasks:

A. Study and suggest the measures to be taken, map out the programs and plans designed to raise the Highlanders' living standards, and submit them to the Chairman of the Central Executive Committee for approval before execution.

B. Carry out special programs and manage and run the agencies specially reserved for Highlanders. In this task, the Special Commission for Highland Affairs will be helped by all Ministries and friendly agencies with advice and with technical facilities.

C. Contribute suggestions, and propagandize and guide Highlanders in carrying out activities in accordance with national lines and policies of which the Ministries and friendly agencies are in charge.

D. Given the above tasks, the activities of the Special Commission for Highland Affairs comprise three parts:

1. Unilateral activities
2. Coordinated activities
3. Motivating activities

III. OBJECTIVES OF ACTIVITIES FOR 1966

The Special Commission for Highland Affairs was established two months after the start of the 1966 fiscal year. Therefore, the program of activities of the Commission will aim at the following immediate objectives:

- A. Improve the organization of the Commission.
- B. Satisfy some of the logical and legitimate aspirations of the Highlanders.

IV. PROGRAM OF ACTIVITIES

- A. Unilateral Activities
 1. Improve the organization of the Commission at central and local levels.
 2. Increase facilities, construction and repair work, and equipment (personnel, vehicles, materials, etc.) for the Commission and its local agencies.

3. Study on the spot the situation in the Highlands, gather data about the Highlanders' aspirations, review good points and shortcomings with regard to operations of Highland affairs in order to propose logical programs, through official tours, visits, etc.

4. Send touring teams of observers to Malaysia, the Republic of Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan, etc. to study the activities relative to minority ethnic groups, and methods applied in the development of the highlands, so as to prepare and propose efficient measures to the Government.

5. Organize visiting tours of Highlanders to the capital (on National Day), and a convention of ethnic groups on the anniversary of the Promulgation of the Highlanders' Affairs Policy (October 17).

6. Set up an important central mobile theatrical group which will give performances throughout the country with a view to spreading the Highlanders' culture, and will disseminate Government guide lines and policies, as well as the operations of the [Commission for] Highland Affairs.

7. Give protection to a number of Highland villages and hamlets.

8. Continue the management and development of the Truong Son plan; review the organization and functions of the operating teams so as to render their operations more efficient; form more cadres, and give further training to cadres commanding the Truong Son groups now in operation.

9. Provide farming tools, farm animals, seeds, professional instruments, etc. for distribution

to Highlanders and guide them toward developing their economic life.

10. Continue to train Highlander technical cadres and guide them in their vocations in order to bring positive advantages to them as well as to the entire population.

11. Organize a handicraft showroom in Saigon for the exhibition and sale of Highlander products.

12. Organize a Highlander Civilization Show, which will display to best advantage Highlander traditions and Government successes in dealing with Highland affairs.

13. Plan and set up stores in every provincial guest house for the supply to Highlanders of low-priced goods and foodstuffs.

14. Procure school supplies and school books, and edit and print research books and magazines about Highland people as well as school books intended for the Highlanders' use.

15. Continue to grant scholarships to Highlander students and motivate charitable agencies to obtain additional support for this purpose.

16. Establish in Ban Me Thuot a Popular Multi-vocational School to be especially reserved for Highlanders.

17. Transfer the Highlander Students' Boarding House from Hue to Saigon.

18. Build up and repair boarding houses for Highlanders in the Central Highlands.

19. Establish two additional boarding houses for high-school students in Kontum and Pleiku.

20. Plan emergency relief for refugees and victims of natural disasters.

21. Build seven Highlander guest houses, six in Central Highland provinces and one in Saigon.

B. Besides the foregoing activities, the Special Commission for Highland Affairs will make contact and consult with different Ministries and friendly agencies. If there is no objection on their part, the Commission will assume the management . . . of programs intended specifically for Highlanders (such as: Highland Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Highland Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Training Centers, Highlander Students' Boarding Houses, etc.), which, so far, have been operated by different ministries and friendly agencies.

C. Coordinated Activities

1. Disseminate information and guide the Highlanders in carrying out the operations of which different Ministries and friendly agencies are in charge, in compliance with the general guide lines and policies of the Government.

2. Improve the organization of the Highlanders' New Life Hamlets.

3. Take a census of the entire population and issue identification cards to Highlander citizens.

4. Settle the FULRO problem without delay and appeal for their return to the National side.

5. Search for, translate, and draft a modern set of laws for Highlanders, taking into account their customs and traditions.

6. Proceed to reestablish Highlander Customs and Traditions Courts.

7. Encourage Highlander children to go to the Junior NCO school, and stimulate Highlander youths who meet the required qualifications to attend Officer and NCO academies.

8. Organize structures for and intensify Intelligence and Psywar-Intelligence activities in the Highlands.

9. Proceed to carry out land-survey operations for Highlanders.

10. Study the economic possibilities of each locality, guide the Highlanders in economic development, and find markets for them.

11. Sponsor and encourage Lowlander-Highlander friendship associations, and assist Highlander pupils and students.

12. Promote Highlander language courses and organize examinations for proficiency certificates for Lowlander cadres, civil servants, and servicemen speaking Highlander languages, with a view to helping them obtain their allowances as fixed by the law.

13. Set up public health and social welfare structures in the Highlands in consonance with the needs and conditions of each locality.

14. Make more efficient the relief activities, distribution of relief supplies and allowances, and the relocation of Highlander evacuees and refugees from Communism.

15. Launch a large-scale motivational drive for Highlanders to improve their standard of living in line with the present movement toward a modernized society.

D. Motivating Activities

Motivating activities are aimed at contributing helpful suggestions to friendly agencies or requesting their support for the implementation of the following tasks:

1. Fortify the administrative and organizational structures in the Highland areas.
2. Replace those elements lacking in prestige with qualified men who are respected by the people.
3. Establish Highlander Advisory Councils in provinces, in Corps Tactical Zones, and in the Government.
4. Reorganize those military units of which the Highlanders compose the majority, so as to render effective the motto "Highlanders to protect Highlanders." The guiding principle must be: "Highlanders command, and Lowlanders assist."
5. Revise the status of grades and titles of Highlander administrative cadres.
6. Settle quickly and efficiently cases of war incidents involving Highlanders.
7. Appoint a number of eminent Highlander Officers as Assistant Commanders of Corps Tactical Zones, Division Tactical Areas, and Sectors where Highlanders are living.
8. Try to obtain scholarships for Highlander students to study abroad.
9. Launch a movement of economic development for Highlanders.
10. Limit the sale of strong spirits to Highlanders.

11. Settle the disputes regarding land, and pay damages to expropriated landowners.

12. Request of different foreign aid and social welfare agencies, as well as of private individuals, more farming tools, farm animals, seeds, gifts, foodstuffs, professional instruments, etc. for Highlanders.

13. Stimulate foreign or Vietnamese capitalists to make investments in the Highland areas.

14. Establish more schools in the Highland areas, and, above all, open the Secondary forms VII, III. II, and I in the provinces of Kontum, Pleiku, and Ban Me Thuot for the admission of more Highlander students.

15. Develop adult education classes in Highland villages and hamlets.

16. Expand health activities in the Highlands, and provide more assistance to public health and social welfare agencies, so that they can afford more facilities for development operations, and recruitment of more Highlander employees.

V. CONCLUSION

Above are only the outlines of an emergency [program] for the CF-1966. The Special Commission for Highland Affairs will contact friendly agencies, make studies in each locality, and keep in touch with notables, scholars, and local Highlanders to learn their actual status and aspirations, with a view to drafting a detailed and efficient long-term program.

Appendix E

DECREE LAW NO. 006/65 (JULY 22, 1965) REORGANIZING
HIGHLAND COMMON LAW COURTS IN THE
CENTRAL VIETNAM HIGHLANDS

The Chief of State of the Republic of Vietnam:

Considering the Provisional Constitution, dated
October 20, 1964;

Considering the Decision No. 1, dated October 21, 1964,
of the National High Council, appointing Mr. Phan Khac Suu
to the post of Chief of State of the Republic of Vietnam;

Considering Decree No. 5-QT/SL, dated October 31, 1964,
appointing the Prime Minister;

Considering Decree No. 6-QT/SL, dated November 4, 1964,
defining the Constitution of the Government;

Considering the Joint Declaration, dated January 9,
1965, of the Civil Government and the ARVN, and

Upon the deliberation of the Cabinet Council, Decrees:

CHAPTER I

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1. Effective the date of promulgation of this
decree-law, the jurisdiction, with respect to Highlanders
in different provinces of the Central Vietnam Highlands,
will devolve on law courts, in compliance with articles
defined as follows:

Article 2. These law courts are only qualified to try
civil affairs, Highland affairs, as well as penal affairs
in those cases where both parties are Highlanders.

However, when both parties mutually agree to request
it, their dispute will be tried by National Courts.

Article 3. All acts of rebellion, disturbance of public order, violation of national security, and homicide perpetrated by Highlanders will be brought up for trial before National Courts according to their cognizance.

The laws to be enforced and the constitution of the law courts are defined in Article 25 of this decree-law.

Article 4. Crimes and offenses committed by Highlander servicemen also will be under the jurisdiction of National Military Courts.

Article 5. All suits of a civil nature between Highlanders and Lowlanders, and trials involving Lowlanders, will be judged by the National Courts according to their cognizance.

The laws to be enforced and the constitution of these law courts are defined in Article 26.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION AND COMPETENCY OF COURTS JUDGING IN COMPLIANCE WITH HIGHLANDER CUSTOMS

Section I. Village "Customs" Law Court

Article 6. The constituents of the Village "Customs" Law Court will be the Village Administrative Committee Chief acting as Presiding Judge, and two Highlander assessors appointed by the inhabitants.

The procedures of selecting the Village "Customs" Law Court assessors are defined in Article 30.

Article 7. The Village "Customs" Law Court sits in the Village Administrative Committee Office and, in principle, holds one session per week, or more if necessary, for settling disputes arising in the village.

Article 8.

1. With respect to civil affairs and Highlander affairs, however important it may be, a dispute will have to be tentatively reconciled first.

The Village Administrative Committee Chairman will take charge of reconciliations by himself. If necessary, he will consult the Highlander assessors.

The Village Administrative Committee Chief should strive to reconcile the litigant parties when they come to present their case.

If the attempt at reconciliation is successful, the Chairman of the Village Administrative Committee will draw up an official record to be signed by both parties. All agreements mentioned in this record will have executory force and will be denied the right of appeal elsewhere.

A reconciled litigation cannot lead to a new lawsuit.

2. In case of irreconcilability, if the rate involved in a litigation on civil affairs or Highland affairs is less than 500 VN\$, the Village "Customs" Law Court will be competent to try it according to custom, and with the possibility of appeal to the District Highland Affairs Court within 15 full days after the date sentence is passed.

3. Relative to penal affairs, the Village "Customs" Law Court will be competent to judge, without appeal, petty offenses [resulting in] such sentences as to provide offerings for worship purposes or to carry out hard labor that does not rate over 50 VN\$.

Section II. District Highland Affairs Court

Article 9. At the district level, the Highland Affairs Court will be made up of the District Chief, concurrently Justice of the Peace acting as President of the Court, and two Highlander assessors.

The Court will have an interpreter, concurrently clerk. The Highlander assessors will be elected by local inhabitants, and the election procedures are defined in Article 30.

Article 10. The District Highland Affairs Court will sit at the District Administrative Office. Depending on the case, however, it can be moved and sit at another place within the District.

In principle, the District Highland Affairs Court will sit twice a month, or more, if need be, for expeditious judgment of lawsuits.

Article 11. The District Highland Affairs Court will be competent to:

1. Give a final ruling on appeals of sentences passed with possibility of appeal by the Village Customs Court on civil and commercial affairs, when the costs are not more than 500 VN\$.

2. Judge, with or without possibility of appeal, the lawsuits on civil and commercial matters in which the costs are more than 500 VN\$ and less than 1500 VN\$.

3. Pass sentence, in the first instance and with possibility of appeal, on:

- a. Civil and commercial lawsuits which rate over 1500 VN\$ or cannot be specifically rated.

b. All kinds of minor offenses.

The District Highland Affairs Court also will try cases of all offenses traditionally considered serious ones, such as offenses against religions and creeds, viz., desecration of graves, insults uttered during a ritual ceremony, disturbance of an oathtaking ceremony, and offenses against deities.

Besides, this Court can deal ipso jure with all offenses and breaches of the law directly known to itself, and can try these cases within its scope of competency as stipulated above.

Section III. The Highland Affairs Section of the Provincial Court

Article 12. Within every National Court of first instance in the Central Highlands, a Highland Affairs Section will be set up. It will be presided over by a Highlander Presiding Judge, assisted by 2 Highlander assessors, a national clerk who keeps the records of the Court and written documents, and an interpreter.

The jurisdiction of the Highland Affairs Section is that of the National Court of Justice, which also includes a Highland Section exclusively in charge of legal proceedings involving Highlanders.

Highlander assessors will be elected by the people. The assignment of the President of the Court and the method of electing the assessors are provided for in Articles 30 and 34.

Article 13. In principle, the Highland Affairs Section will sit once or twice a month, or more often if necessary for expeditious judgments.

Article 14. The Highland Affairs Section will be competent to:

1. Pass final judgment on appeals from sentences passed in the first instance by Highland District Courts on civil, commercial, and criminal matters.

2. Pass judgment, with possibility of appeal, on all actions at law on either offenses (except those offenses mentioned in Article 3) or crimes which do not fall within the competence of Village Customs Courts and Highland District Courts.

Section IV. Courts of Appeal

Article 15. When hearing a case involving Highlanders, the composition of the National Court of Appeal, previously fixed at 1 President and 2 assessors, will be augmented by 2 Highlander assessors. The Criminal Section of the Court of Appeal will be composed of 1 President, 2 National assessors and 2 Highlander assessors.

The method of electing the assessors is stipulated in Article 30.

The interpretation will be done by an interpreter-clerk.

Article 16. The National Court of Appeal, with the above composition, will be competent to:

1. Pass final judgment on the appeals from penal sentences given in the first instance by the Highland Affairs Section of the Provincial Court.

2. Rehear ex-officio the cases which are deemed to be miscarriages of justice on the part of Highland District Courts and Highland Affairs Sections of the Provincial Courts.

The time limit prescribed for the exercise of this right is forty (40) days, effective the date when sentence is passed by the Highland Affairs District Courts or the Highland Affairs Section of the Provincial Tribunal.

The Court of Appeal will judge all cases on their form as well as on their substance within a 30-day time limit, effective the date of its receiving the relevant documents.

In the case of death sentences, the Public Prosecutor, Chief of the Judicial Service, will have the right to propose commutation of the death sentence to the Minister of Justice, who will refer this to the Chief of State for decision.

CHAPTER III

Section I. Application of the Legislation

Article 17. The judicial agencies at different levels, as provided for in Chapter II of this decree-law, will apply regional ways and customs so long as these are not incompatible with the public order.

If the suitors are governed by dissimilar customs, the following will be applied:

- a. Concerning civil and commercial actions, the traditions that are in force in the region in which is located the subject of the action, or those that are in force in the residence locality of the defendant.
- b. Concerning criminal actions, such traditions as are most similar to National criminal laws. In case these actions involve the

public order, the National laws will be applied simply and solely.

Section II. Drafting of Judicial Documents

Article 18. The records of the Village Customs Courts will be written simply, and must be copied in extenso in a book specifically designed for this purpose. The District Chief, who is concurrently National Justice of the Peace, will check them during his inspection tours.

The records of the proceedings of the Highland Affairs District Courts and the Highland Affairs Section of the Provincial Tribunal will be written in the Vietnamese language, in 2 parts, as follows:

- Part 1: Brief of the case
 - a. Competence of the suitors
 - b. Subject of the action
 - c. Exposition of the case
- Part 2: Judgment of the Court
 - a. Reason for the action
 - b. Ruling of the Court

When delivering sentence, the judicial agencies at different levels should proclaim the right to lodge an appeal in case of the first hearing, and include this proclamation in the last paragraph of text of the judgment.

A true copy, in extenso, of all records of sentences, on civil as well as on criminal actions, delivered by the Highland Affairs District Courts and the Highland Affairs Section of the Provincial Tribunals will have to be forwarded for appropriate action to the Court of Appeal by the President of the Tribunal concerned ten days, at the latest, after the date that sentence is pronounced.

Section III. Execution of Court Rulings

Article 19. All the sentences passed by the Village Customs Court will become definitive and enforceable following expiration of the 15-day time limit for lodging appeals.

The judgments passed with possibility of appeal by the Highland Affairs District Courts and the Highland Affairs Section of the Provincial Tribunal will become definitive and enforceable following expiration of the 40-day time limit, effective the date when the sentence is delivered. This time limit is accorded to the litigant parties so that they may appeal the Court ruling.

The final rulings will be immediately enforceable, but those of the Highland Affairs District Courts and the Highland Affairs Sections of the Provincial Tribunals will be enforced only after 40 days, effective the date when sentence is delivered. This time limit is accorded to the Court of Appeal to enable it to exercise, if such should be the case, the right to rehear the case as stipulated in Article 16.

Article 20. Such proceedings as an appeal to a higher court for annulment of a sentence will not apply to verdicts based on mores.

Article 21. In case of punishment by fine, the money will have to be paid to the National Budget.

Imprisonment sentences will be served in the existing re-education centers in the Central Highlands. However, sentences of hard labor and imprisonment for more than 3 years may be served in other re-education centers.

Article 22. Those sentenced to death and not granted commutation will be executed by a firing squad.

Article 23. Such measures of grace as commutation of sentence, mitigation of penalties, release on parole, grant of atonement for misdeeds, etc. will be proclaimed by the Chief of State, as proposed by the Chief of Province and in concurrence with the Ministry of Justice. The standard for atonement will be 1 day of hard labor for 1 day of imprisonment.

Article 24. Any case brought before the Courts of various instances to be judged in accordance with regional mores will be exempted from payment of a sum to the Court when a petition is filed for instituting an action or bringing an appeal. However, upon completion of the hearing, the Court will consider the faults of one of the parties, or of both, to determine how much each one will have to pay as costs. These costs will depend, also, on the ways and customs of both parties and will be paid to the National Treasury.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL COURTS DEALING WITH OFFENSES OR LITIGATIONS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLES 3 AND 4

Article 25. The National Courts dealing with the offenses provided for in Article 3 will apply National laws. The composition of the said Courts will be that stipulated by law, including two additional Highlander assessors. The nomination of Highlander assessors will be defined in Article 30.

Regarding the Courts-martial or Military Field Courts, one of the lawful assessors will be a Highlander.

Article 26. The National Courts of various instances, in judging both civil and criminal cases as defined in Article 5, will apply the National laws. As far as criminal actions are concerned, they may refer to the tribal mores and creeds of the litigant parties so as flexibly to apply aggravating or extenuating circumstances.

The composition of the sessions of District and Province National Courts, as well as that of the Court of Appeal, will be that fixed by law, including 2 additional assessors, one of whom will be a Highlander and the other a Lowlander. For the Court of Appeal sessions held for criminal actions, the 2 people's assessors, of previously fixed panel, will be 1 Highlander and 1 Lowlander. The Highlander assessors will be appointed as provided for in Article 30. The nomination of the Lowlander assessors is defined in Article 31.

Article 27. All legal proceedings will be available for judgments of National Courts regarding criminal and civil cases provided for in Articles 3 and 5.

CHAPTER V MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Article 28. All Court clerks [and] interpreters will be assigned by a ministerial order from the Minister of Justice.

Article 29. When sitting for the judgment of criminal and civil lawsuits among Highlanders, criminal actions involving Lowlanders, and civil actions between Highlanders and Lowlanders, the Court will base its decisions on the opinion of the majority of the panel.

Article 30. Annually, in early December, chairmen of Village Administrative Committees will contact their co-villagers to draw up an official 12-man list of Highlander notables elected by regional people to act as assessors in Village Courts of Customs for the next year. From each list, the District Chief, concurrently Justice of the Peace, will pick out 2 regular assessors and 2 deputy assessors for every Village Court of Customs.

Also, every year in early December, the District Chief will contact people under his authority to draw up an official 18-man list of Highlander notables, elected by district people, to act as assessors in district Highlander Affairs Courts for the next year. These lists will be forwarded to the Public Prosecutor and Chief of the Judicial Service concerned, who will pick out from each of these lists 2 regular assessors and 4 deputy assessors for every district Highland Affairs Court.

With this contact, the District Chief will draw up another official list of notables of highest repute in his district and nominated by the people for the posts of assessors for the next year in Higher Courts of Customs and in national courts whose composition includes Highlander assessors. The number of notables to be listed for every district will be fixed by the Public Prosecutor, Chief of the Judicial Service concerned, at the rate of one selected for every three nominees. The Public Prosecutor will collect all the aforesaid lists from the districts and pick out regular and deputy assessors for the Courts.

The assessors for every Court will be picked out from the name lists of notables in the jurisdiction of

the Court concerned. The selection of assessors for all Courts must be based on the patriotism and loyalty of the candidates, as well as on their knowledge of Highlander customs.

Supplementary lists may be drawn up in the same manner as defined in the above paragraphs for a wider choice, if need be.

Article 31. For National Courts, the Lowlander assessors mentioned in Articles 2 and 26 will be nominated as follows:

1. For the Section of the Court of Appeal in charge of minor offenses and for the sittings of the Court of Appeal judging civil actions, the Public Prosecutor concerned will select each year regular and deputy assessors from among the notables listed by administrative authorities, to be selected for the posts of people's assessors at the assize Courts.

2. For National Courts of first instance and Justice of the Peace, the Public Prosecutor will select in early December of each year regular and deputy assessors for the next year from among notables listed by District Chiefs. The number of notables so listed will be determined by the Public Prosecutor.

3. The provisions of Presidential Decree No. 4, dated October 18, 1949, concerning the organization of national justice, the requirements for eligibility to the posts of people's assessors, and the punishments in cases of absence without plausible reasons will apply to the nomination of the above assessors.

Article 32. In principle, a notable can act as assessor in one court instance only. In each instance,

a notable may be, concurrently, assessor for the Court of Customs and for National Courts, whose compositions include Highlander assessors, if his dual function does not inconvenience the Court trial.

Article 33. Before taking office, an assessor will be sworn in before the Presiding Judge by declaring that he will carry out his functions correctly and will not disclose whatever he knows while on duty. The oath will be the same as that taken by the Presiding Judge of the Provincial Court for Highlander Affairs, hereunder mentioned in Article 34.

Assessors are challengeable. Any suitor who wants to challenge an assessor will have to make his request before the opening of the trial. The Presiding Judge will consider the reasons for the challenge and will nominate a substitute, selected from among the alternates, if the request is approved. The Presiding Judge's decision on such challenge cannot be appealed to a higher Court.

If, for some reason, a regular assessor cannot attend the Court trial, the alternate will replace him.

Article 34. The notables who have been selected as regular and alternate assessors for the District Court for Highlander Affairs, pertaining to every jurisdiction of the Provincial Court, and for the Highlander Affairs Section of the Provincial Court, will meet at this Court at the invitation of the National Presiding Judge to appoint a Presiding Judge for Highlander Affairs to be selected from among them. The Highlander Affairs Presiding Judge must be an honest man having dignity and education.

If need be, the Minister of Justice may summon another meeting of the panel for the appointment of a new presiding judge in the same manner as mentioned above.

The Provincial Court's Presiding Judge for Highlander Affairs, nominated as mentioned above, will be ratified afterward by an order from the Minister of Justice. Before taking his office, the Presiding Judge for Highlander Affairs will have to be sworn in before the Court of Appeal as follows:

"I swear and pledge to fulfill my duties with dedication, to keep absolutely secret what has been discussed during the Court deliberation, and to behave in everything as a deserving and loyal judge."

The duty tour of the Presiding Judge for Highlander Affairs will be 1 year and will expire at the same time as assessors' duty tours. At their annual meeting, however, the assessors may reelect the Presiding Judge whose duty tour has just ended. There will be no restriction for this reelection.

Article 35. Presiding Judges for Highlanders' Affairs and Highlander and Lowlander assessors are entitled to function fees, including travel and lodging allowances. Their rates will be fixed by an order from the Ministry of Finance, with concurrence of the Ministry of Justice.

Article 36. The order, dated August 9, 1947, and supplemented by another one, dated March 4, 1948, on the setting up of different Courts of Ways and Customs in the Central Highlands, and all other orders and regulations inconsistent with this decree-law, will be abrogated.

Article 37. Those criminal and civil actions falling within the competence of Courts of Customs, and whose petitions have been received by National Courts but not yet tried, will be transferred to the above-mentioned Courts as soon as they have been set up.

This decree-law will be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Vietnam.

Saigon, Vietnam

PRIME MINISTER

MINISTER OF JUSTICE

July 15, 1965

Appendix F

SURVEY OF LAND-TENURE SYSTEMS AND LIVELIHOOD PATTERNS
OF TWENTY-ONE SOUTHERN HIGHLAND GROUPS*

1. BAHNAR

Land tenure. Since the Bahnar are widely spread out, they are found in a variety of physical settings, and their economic adaptation differs accordingly. On the hills and slopes, they generally cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden method. On bottom land with available water, they have wet rice in paddy fields, and in some places they also farm dry rice in permanent fields. Their land-tenure system depends on the particular agricultural technique of the locality. Where there is permanent cultivation, the fields are the property of individuals or household groups, and right of ownership is passed on to succeeding generations by the prescribed rules of inheritance. Swiddens, whether under cultivation or lying fallow, are the property of the household group that traditionally has farmed them.

Toring, according to Guilleminet, is a traditional territorial unit belonging to the villages located within it, and the right to farm, hunt, and fish within the toring is shared by the villages. Tomoi (non-toring) people, whether they are Bahnar or not, are viewed as outsiders, and permission from the leaders of the

*Bahnar, Brou, Chrau, Chru, Cil, Cua, Halang, Hre, Jarai, Jeh, Katu, Lat, Ma, Mnong, Pacoh, Rengao, Rhadé, Roglai, Sedang, Sre, and Stieng.

villages is necessary for tomoi to farm, hunt, or fish within the toring.*

Agriculture. Bahnar in the hilly and mountainous areas rely on the swidden technique to produce upland dry rice, their food staple. Trees are felled and brush is cut during the dry season; when the wood has dried sufficiently, it is burned. Planting takes place after the rains have begun, and harvesting is done in November. Where the soil is fertile, the fields can be farmed consecutively for three or four years. They are then left fallow until there is a substantial new growth.

Where the land is level, the Bahnar usually have paddy fields. In the vicinity of Kontum town, the wet-rice fields are arranged on the restricted bottom land of old river beds; east of Pleiku, they cover the plain that extends to the Mang Yang pass. Bahnar paddy fields are plowed and harrowed with the help of water buffalo, and some farmers spread buffalo dung on the soil. While broadcasting of seeds is the traditional method of planting, some Bahnar are reported to have recently adopted the transplanting technique used by the Vietnamese. Rain provides most of the needed water, and low dikes and a system of canals control the water levels. Fields are weeded during the growth period, and harvesting usually begins in October or November. Only one crop is cultivated.

*Paul P. Guilleminet, "La tribu Bahnar du Kontum," Actes du XXI^e Congrès des Orientalistes, Paris, 1949, pp. 383-384.

In the vicinity of Kontum town, the Bahnar cultivate dry rice in level fields along the Dak Bla river. The soil is plowed and harrowed after the rains begin, in late April or early May. No fertilizer is used, and the seeds are broadcast. Weeding is done with a harrow-like instrument pulled by cattle. Varieties of three-month (higher quality) and four-month rice are grown. Harvesting begins in November. A dry-rice field is used consecutively for five or six years. Then a fence is constructed around it, and for at least one year the field is allowed to fallow and is used as pasturage for draft animals.

The Bahnar grow a wide range of fruits and vegetables. Along the edges of the paddy fields, they cultivate green leafy vegetables resembling mustard plants and spinach. In the swiddens as well as in the dry-rice fields, they grow maize. Manioc is grown in the fields or in separate patches. Kitchen gardens in the villages contain squash, gourds, green peppers, eggplant, ground nuts, small tomatoes, and tobacco. In the Kontum area, villagers cultivate papaya, bananas, sugar cane, pineapples, lemon grass, coconuts, and kapok trees. East of Pleiku, the farmers grow some cotton.

Commerce. There is some trading between individuals in the same and other villages. In the more remote parts, this is confined to a small area; but nearer the market centers, it extends to carrying produce to the towns for sale or barter with Vietnamese merchants. The Bahnar usually expend cash for salt, cloth, pots, and other household or personal items.

2. BROU

Land tenure and agriculture. The Brou traditionally cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden method. Whether swiddens are lying fallow or being cultivated, they are considered the property of the household group that first cleared them. The Brou select a new swidden by examining the vegetation and soil. They prefer black or brown soil to the red soil that predominates in some of the Brou area. Large trees indicate highly fertile soil. Where the Brou find the soil to be particularly good, they will farm fields for a maximum of three years. In most instances, however, their swiddens are cultivated only one year. Fields are left fallow long enough for the new growth to be substantial; "we don't like to cut young jungle," as one farmer put it. There are a few patches of bottom land in the Khe Sanh area where the villagers have been encouraged to make small paddy fields, but this is still in the experimental stage.

In large permanent kitchen gardens, Brou villagers plant maize, yams, manioc, beans, peas, squash, and melons; in smaller gardens, they grow lettuce, chili peppers, and tobacco. Jack fruit, papaya, coconut, orange, mango, and banana trees are cultivated in the villages. There also are occasional avocado trees, and some villagers have coffee trees.

Commerce and hired labor. Some of the villagers who have coffee trees sell the produce in the Khe Sanh. Others also sell vegetables, bamboo, firewood, and occasionally livestock, to the Vietnamese for cash, but preferably for rice, salt, or some manufactured items. Brou villagers living in the vicinity of the few French

coffee plantations around Khe Sanh work periodically, but not steadily, for cash.

3. CHRAU

Land tenure. The Chrau cultivate both wet rice in paddy fields and dry upland rice by the swidden method. Paddy fields are individually owned, and traditional inheritance rules of the Chrau determine how the land is passed to succeeding generations. Since some Chrau have lived in proximity to the Vietnamese for a long period, they have titles to their paddy fields and can transfer title according to the procedures of Vietnamese law. Swiddens are the property of the household group that farms them. Ownership extends to swiddens lying fallow.

Agriculture and commerce. In practicing swidden agriculture, the Chrau select the site for a new swidden by feeling the soil; if it sticks together, it is considered good for rice crops. Following the lunar calendar, the Chrau cut the brush and fell trees in the tenth and eleventh months. The wood is burned in the second and third months of the new year. The Chrau have a wide variety of dry rice from which to choose. Men make the holes with two dibble sticks and the women follow and plant the seeds. Harvesting begins in the eleventh lunar month. Duration of swidden cultivation varies with the area, but normally ranges between three and ten years. Fallowing periods also vary, but the minimum is two years.

Preparation of wet-rice fields begins in the fifth lunar month, and a Vietnamese type of plow pulled by cattle or water buffalo is used. A Vietnamese harrow also is employed. The Chrau transplant. The first planting is done in seedbeds; when the seedlings are

about a foot high, they are transplanted into the larger fields. Harvesting begins in the eleventh month. Many Chrau farmers sell paddy to the Vietnamese and to Chrau who work for wages in the nearby plantations.

4. CHRU

Land tenure. Paddy fields in the Dran Valley are individually owned, and the Chru have a traditional procedure for transferring ownership in the absence of legal papers. The two parties involved in the transfer gather their fellow villagers in the field to be sold. It is important to have the village children participate in the event, as they will be able to bear witness to it in the future. The buyer provides jars of alcohol for the adults, and chicken and token gifts for the children. He also furnishes an animal for the sacrifice that is held after he pays for the land. (Traditionally, payment was made with animals, but nowadays most transactions are in cash.) As a symbol of the sale, a sizable stone is covered with blood from the sacrificial animal and embedded in one of the dikes.

Agriculture and commerce. Wet-rice cultivation in paddy fields is traditional among the Chru. The paddy fields are in the low, level bottom land in the valley and on terraces cut into the gentle slopes. Rain provides some of the necessary water, and the Chru also have an elaborate irrigation system, which taps water from the tributaries that feed the Dan Him river and supplies the fields through canals. Dikes help control the flow and level of the water. Every Chru village designates a "Water Chief," who, each year before the planting begins, organizes the residents into work

groups that clear and repair the canals affecting their fields. Inter-village cooperation provides maintenance for the over-all system. One prominent Chru leader, a particularly successful farmer, recently purchased five gasoline-powered irrigation pumps. He and other farmers have requested 600,000 VN\$ from the district authorities to finance construction of additional canals and dams. They also have plans for a conduit system by which to carry water to level land at higher elevations.

Three varieties of wet rice are grown: one planted in July and harvested in September, and two that are also planted in July but harvested in December. The fields are prepared in May and June. After the first plowing and harrowing, the process is repeated perpendicularly to the first rows. The Chru plow, drawn by the water buffalo, is a traditional artifact that differs from the Vietnamese plow. (Some farmers are talking of purchasing an American tractor.) Traditionally, the Chru broadcast their seeds, but in 1965 several farmers (including the one noted above) began to use the transplanting technique, which they had seen used by Vietnamese farmers, whereby planting is done in a seed bed, and the plants are transplanted to the larger fields when they are about a foot high. Some farmers have been using chemical fertilizer for several years; with more of it available through the USAID program, larger numbers are doing so.

On higher land, the Chru cultivate dry rice. These fields are plowed and harrowed, and traditionally animal dung has been used as fertilizer. Plowing is done after the rains have softened the ground, and the varieties of rice (including some glutinous rice) take from three to

six months to mature. Occasionally, the Chru resort to swidden technique to supplement their rice crops; their method resembles that used by the neighboring Cil.

Chru kitchen gardens produce gourd, cucumber, water melons, pumpkins, lemon grass, ginger, eggplant, and chili peppers. In the villages there are orange, jack fruit, lime, mango, coconut, and areca trees. Some farmers grow avocado trees as well, and there are some grapefruit and mangosteen trees. Part of the produce of these trees is marketed in Dran. Tobacco is grown by all households, and some of it is sold. Three varieties of maize -- red, black, and white -- are grown in separate fields. An increasing number of farmers are planting potatoes, which they ordered from Holland, in cooperation with Vietnamese farmers. Along with this important cash crop they cultivate onions, escarole, lettuce, cabbage, squash, beets, cauliflower, white beans, butter beans, green beans, bean sprouts, carrots, celery, radishes, tomatoes, chinese cabbage, and eggplant. A few grow artichokes. These crops are sold in the local markets, and some farmers rent trucks to ship their produce to Nhatrang and Phan Rang. One farmer recently began growing garlic, which he sells to the Vietnamese. A group of Chru farmers are organizing a cooperative, and claim that there is a potential membership of 3000 throughout the valley.

5. CIL

Land tenure and agriculture. The Cil cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden method. The fields, even when they are lying fallow, are considered the property of the family that cleared them. Selection of a new

swidden is done by a combination of careful scrutiny of the soil and divination. When a place where the soil looks promising is found, a few of the men sleep there for several nights. If they have "favorable dreams," they will farm the site; if not, they will select a new area and repeat the procedure. The trees are felled in January and brush is cut. In early March, fires are set; and after the rains commence, in late April or early May, planting takes place. The Cil farm the swiddens from one to three years, depending on fertility, and leave them fallow for at least ten years before recultivating.

Maize also is grown in the swiddens. Gourds are cultivated between rows of rice and maize and along the edges of the fields. In kitchen gardens, the Cil grow cabbage, bananas, chilies, eggplant, beans, tomatoes, and sugar cane.

6. CUA

Land tenure. The Cua cultivate wet rice in paddy fields on the bottom land of the Tra Bong valley and in terraces on the mountain slopes. Those living at higher elevations grow upland dry rice by the swidden technique. Paddy fields are owned by the families that farm them, and Cua inheritance rules dictate how this right of ownership is passed down to succeeding generations. Swiddens belong to the household groups that farm them. A group's claim to swiddens, both cultivated and fallow, is recognized by other members of Cua village society.

Agriculture and commerce. For paddy cultivation, the Cua have a system of dikes and canals by which to control the water. Rain provides part of the needed water, and

some terraces are fed by springs. Using a Vietnamese type of plow pulled by water buffalo, the Cua prepare their fields in the first month of the lunar calendar by plowing and harrowing (they use the Vietnamese terms for these activities) and spreading them with animal dung. Traditionally the seeds are broadcast, but in recent years some farmers have adopted the Vietnamese system of transplanting. Harvest is in the third lunar month. Bottom-land paddy fields are then prepared for a second crop, which is harvested in the eighth month, whereas terraced paddy fields produce only one crop.

In swidden agriculture, the forest is cut in the second lunar month and the wood is burned in the third. When the rains start, in the fourth lunar month, the planting begins. The Cua plan their crops according to the color of the soil: Black is thought to be good for maize, and red for rice. Rice harvesting begins in the sixth lunar month. Unless the soil is judged to be particularly fertile (fertility being indicated by such things as large trees with vines), the swiddens are not planted in rice for more than one year. Maize, however, can be grown in the same swidden for at least two years. Cua swiddens are left fallow for a maximum of six years before being recultivated.

The Cua plant vegetables on the edges of bottom-land paddy fields and swiddens. They grow a variety of yams and bananas to supplement their rice and maize diet.

Cinnamon, tea, and areca are Cua cash crops. "For many generations," as they put it, the Cua have been gathering cinnamon bark in the forests and also cultivating

cinnamon trees, the produce of which they sell to the Vietnamese.* It takes four or five years for a cinnamon tree to reach maturity, and the quality of the cinnamon cannot be predicted. The bark is carried to the district town of Tra Bong, where it is sold to Vietnamese merchants. (The mid-1965 price was 120 VN\$ per kilo.) Because of Viet Cong activities, however, the amount of cinnamon being brought out of the mountainous areas has diminished considerably since 1964.

The Cua also cultivate tea, some of which they sell to Vietnamese. They also grow areca nuts, chiefly for the consumption of the families that own the areca palms, though some are sold in the Vietnamese markets.

7. HALANG.

Land tenure and agriculture. Upland dry rice, cultivated by the swidden method, is the food staple of the Halang. In the tradition of the past, Halang villages had no specific territory. Residents simply farmed the surrounding area, and each household group had claim to swiddens whether they were being farmed or lying fallow. With the increasing population pressure due to refugee relocations in certain Halang areas, farmers have begun to mark their swiddens with split bamboo sticks.

* Bourotte reports that in the seventeenth century, when in their southward expansion the Vietnamese came into contact with the tribal groups of the Central Highlands, they began to purchase cinnamon, elephants, ivory, rhinoceros' tusks, wood, wax, rattan, and betel from them. (Bernard Bourotte, "Essai d'histoire des populations montagnards du Sud-Indochinois jusqu'à 1945," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Vol. 30, Saigon, 1955, p. 46.)

When selecting the site of a new swidden, the Halang examine the vegetation to determine the fertility of the soil. Most of their traditional area of habitation has thick forests, and the soil is so fertile that they can farm a swidden for a minimum of three years. In recent years, however, some of the Halang have moved into more secure areas further south. Here, there is a predominance of grass (apparently a variety of elephant grass) which is difficult to clear, and swiddens can be farmed for only one year.

The Halang begin clearing for cultivation in February. Men fell the trees and women cut the brush. Once the wood has dried, in March or early April, it is burned, and planting takes place after the rains have begun. Normally, the Halang build shelters near the swiddens to house those whose task it is to guard the fields against incursions by birds and animals, and they also construct their granaries near the swiddens. Fallowing periods depend on the local flora, for there must be substantial new growth before refarming.

The Halang grow some maize in the swiddens, as well as tobacco, various types of tubers, yams, watermelons, eggplant, cabbage, chili peppers, manioc, and cucumbers. Many of them also cultivate these same secondary crops in kitchen gardens near their houses. Squash, pineapples, papaya, bananas, kapok, mangos, coconuts, and lemon grass are grown in the village.

8. HRE

Land tenure. The Hre cultivate wet rice in paddy fields located on the valley floors and on terraces that follow the gentle contours of the slopes rising from the

valleys. Each field is well marked and claimed by an individual or a family. This right of ownership is passed on to the next generation according to the established Hre inheritance rules. The Hre at higher elevations cultivate dry upland rice by the swidden method, and the family that first clears the swidden is considered the owner of it even when it is fallow.

Agriculture. Low dikes and a system of canals control water in the paddy fields. While rain provides most of the water in the bottom-land fields, hillside sources supply the terraced fields. When the rains come, the farmers plow, using a Vietnamese type of plow pulled by water buffalo. Some use animal dung for fertilizer. There are two harvests: one crop is planted in the fifth lunar month and harvested in the ninth; the second is planted in the eleventh month and harvested in the third month of the next year.

During the dry season, the trees on the swidden site are felled by the men, while the women cut the brush. After the wood dries, it is burned and the debris is raked into piles. When the rain has softened the soil, the men make holes with dibble sticks, while the women follow planting the seeds. Depending on the type of flora in the area, fields are farmed from one to three years before being left fallow long enough for new growth to mature.

Gardens are plentiful in Hre villages. The plants include maize, yams, green beans, chili peppers, onions, spinach, watermelons, pumpkins, pineapples, manioc, tobacco, gourds, and tea. There are some patches of sugar cane and scattered papaya, banana, mango, and

jack-fruit trees. Most families also have areca palms, and betel vines grow around the trunks.

9. JARAI

The Jarai are widely spread out, and their economic activities vary considerably. Swidden agriculture predominates in some areas, while paddy fields are found in others, and some Jarai cultivate cash crops. The right of ownership of paddy fields and of fields that produce cash crops is vested in individuals and is passed down to the heirs according to the Jarai rules of succession. Swidden fields are considered the property of the household group that first cleared and cultivated them. Villagers respect one another's right of ownership even of those swiddens that are lying fallow.

Agriculture and commerce. In the vicinity of Cheo Reo, all of the Jarai rely on the swidden technique to produce their staple crop of upland dry rice. In selecting the site of a new swidden, the Cheo Reo Jarai combine omens with practical signs of fertility. If the excrement of certain ground worms is found, it is an indication that the soil is particularly fertile. If a certain type of monkey abounds, however, it is taboo to farm in the area. During the dry season, the trees are felled and the brush is cut and allowed to dry. The Cheo Reo control fires by clearing the wood from the edges of the swidden to form a firebreak. After the rains begin, in April or May, they plant. One variety of upland dry-rice plant takes five months to mature, and another requires six months. Several kinds of glutinous rice are also grown.

Some farmers prefer planting maize in the swiddens first; when the plants have reached a height of about six inches, the dry rice is planted between the rows. Secondary crops include sugar cane, papaya, bananas, manioc, yams, eggplant, pumpkins, chili peppers, green beans, lettuce, mangos, oranges, and tomatoes. Indigo, cotton, and tobacco are also grown, and a few farmers cultivate saffron. Some Jarai farmers in the vicinity of Cheo Reo have begun to raise more kitchen-garden fruits and vegetables for sale in the market. With the population increase due to the influx of Vietnamese civil servants and military personnel, many of whom have brought their dependents, the demand for fresh fruits and vegetables is growing, and some of the farmers have begun producing for the market. One elderly villager proudly pointed out that he had replaced his thatched roof with a tin one and his bamboo walls with wood planks, all with his profits from selling garden and grove produce.

West of Pleiku town, the Jarai select the site for a new swidden on the basis of the vegetation. The planting technique is the same as that of the Cheo Reo Jarai. Swiddens are usually farmed for three or four consecutive years, and then are left fallow for nine or ten years. Maize, manioc, cucumbers, pumpkins, yams, bananas, pineapples, papaya, squash, and gourds are also grown in the swiddens. Kitchen gardens produce bananas, eggplant, chili peppers, pineapples, papaya, lettuce, tomatoes, carrots, cucumbers, manioc, green beans, white beans, peanuts, onions, and garlic.

In the vicinity of Plei Mrong, the Jarai cultivate numerous kinds of wet rice in paddy fields. After the rains begin, they prepare their fields: The well-to-do use plows pulled by water buffalo, while farmers with small paddy fields break the soil with hoes and hand axes. Animal dung is spread on the fields, and the seeds are broadcast. Some farmers sell rice to neighboring tea planters, many of whom are Chinese.

The Jarai Mdhur, in the vicinity of the Song Ba river, (Phu Tuc District, Phu Bon Province), also cultivate wet rice in paddy fields, using plows pulled by water buffalo, and they grow sesame and tobacco as cash crops. They set aside a patch in the middle of their paddy fields on which they plant sesame, which requires little care, as the growing plants crowd out any weeds. The sesame crop is planted in May or June and harvested in August, and after the seeds have been spread out to dry, are sold to itinerant Vietnamese merchants. Tobacco is planted in December, harvested in March, and thereafter is dried and sold.

10. JEH

Land tenure. Among the Jeh, a village or group of villages has traditional territories (sal ja) surrounding it. The boundaries of these territories are well marked and known to the village elders, who are responsible for the territory. Any outsider desiring to cultivate swiddens within the territory must obtain permission from the elders. Their jurisdiction, however, does not extend to areas where the Jeh do not farm. In addition to nonarable sections, this also would include places where there are extraordinarily large trees, for, despite

the fact that such trees indicate fertile soil, the Jeh do not farm where they are to be found. Nor does territorial restriction extend to hunting and fishing, although if one of the fishing techniques involves damming a stream, the approval of the elders is necessary.

Agriculture. The Jeh rely exclusively on the swidden technique to produce their staple of upland rice. They examine the vegetation in an area to determine the fertility of the soil (for example, large trees and a species of large bamboo, called cla, are sure signs of good soil). The cultivation period ranges from one to three years. Fallowing periods also depend on relative fertility, and the Jeh have designations for fallowing fields of one, two, three and up to nine and ten years. The planting cycle is similar to that of the Halang.

Maize, manioc, taro, various kinds of tubers, squash, pumpkins, and cucumbers are planted in the swiddens. In village kitchen gardens, the Jeh cultivate banana and papaya trees, sugar cane, tobacco, and some vegetables. A few orange trees also are to be found in the villages.

Men weave mats and make baskets as well as weapons and tools. Metal-working is a full-time occupation for those especially skilled in it. Women weave cloth, and also produce a special kind of fabric from the bark of a certain tree. After being soaked in water, the bark is twisted into a thick thread that is then woven into articles of clothing. The Jeh also purchase some cloth from the Vietnamese, but otherwise have little commercial exchange outside their own group. Such of their products as cloth, tools, and weapons they trade "among themselves."

11. KATU

Land tenure and agriculture. The Katu rely exclusively on swidden agriculture to produce their upland dry rice, maize, and secondary crops. The swiddens being farmed, as well as those lying fallow, are considered the property of the household group that first cleared them.

When selecting the site of a new swidden, the Katu inspect the soil -- their preference is for black soil, and they avoid the red -- and look for large trees as indicators of great soil fertility. Most Katu live in an area of the highlands affected by the northeast monsoon, so that, when the rains begin, in August or September, they can begin planting the swidden they cut and burned during the dry season. Maize normally is planted first, often before the rains begin, and it is well along by the time the rice is planted between the rows of maize plants. When the rice is about a foot high, the fields are weeded and the soil is turned over. The maize takes about three months to ripen, and the rice can be harvested five months after planting.

The secondary crops of the Katu include squash, sugar cane, bananas, and cucumber. These are planted in the swiddens and sometimes in kitchen gardens near houses in the village.

12. LAT

Land tenure and agriculture. The Lat cultivate wet rice in paddy fields in available bottom land and in terraces on the slopes of Langbian mountain near Dalat. Individual families own their own fields, which are passed down to succeeding generations by the Lat inheritance rules.

Through a system of dikes and canals, the Lat regulate the water provided by rain and by tapping of streams and sources at higher elevations. Water is released from one terrace to another and finally to the paddy fields on the valley floor. Of eight varieties of rice, including one of glutinous rice, two take four months to mature and the remaining six take six months. After the rains begin, the Lat plow their fields, using water buffalo, and then harrow them. After this process has been repeated in a direction perpendicular to the first plowing, the seeds are broadcast.

Maize is planted in separate fields when the rains begin, in April or May, and harvested in July. In small fields near the villages, the Lat cultivate some green leafy vegetables, eggplant, chillies, pumpkins, and yams. Until ten years ago, they raised a variety of vegetables which they then sold in the Dalat market, but a vast increase in the Vietnamese gardening industry around Dalat created a competition with which the Lat could not cope.

13. MA

Land tenure. Every Ma Village has claim to a surrounding territory, which is marked by natural boundaries. This claim is recognized by neighboring villages. Each village has a Tom Bri, or "Forest Chief," who is selected by the residents of the village and he is responsible for regulating the use of the village territory, or, as the Ma put it, the "use of the forests." Any outsider who wishes to farm, cut wood, or hunt within the village territory must first obtain the permission of the Tom Bri. Within the village territory, the residents have swiddens that are either being farmed

or lying fallow. All villagers know which swiddens belong to whom, and anyone desiring to clear and farm a swidden must have the approval of the villager who lays claim to it and of the Tom Bri.

Agriculture. Upland dry rice, cultivated by the swidden method, is the staple of the Ma, though some of them have paddy fields in the bottom land near Bao Loc. During the dry season, trees are felled and brush is cut, and after the wood has dried, it is burned. Planting takes place after the rains have sufficiently moistened the soil, and the harvest is in November and December. The number of times a swidden may be cultivated depends on the fertility of the soil, and is manifest in the state of the crop. Normally, swiddens are farmed for three or four successive years, after which they are allowed to remain fallow for a minimum of fifteen years before re-cultivation. The varieties of rice grown include some early rice, which is planted in April and harvested in October, and late varieties that are also planted in April but mature in November and December. Pumpkins, gourds, manioc, cucumber, maize, and eggplant also are grown in the swiddens.

14. MNONG

Land tenure. The Mnong are widely spread out, and their economic pattern varies accordingly. Some rely exclusively on wet-rice cultivation, while others farm only upland dry rice by the swidden method. Paddy fields are the property of individuals and families, and there are rules for passing them on to succeeding generations. Although it is rare, transfer of ownership is possible; among the Mnong Rlam of Lac Thien District, Darlac

Province, the buyer must pay the agreed-upon price to the seller, after which fellow villagers are informed of the transaction. Swiddens, both those being farmed and those lying fallow, are owned by the household group that works them. The Mnong Prong have definite village-owned territories in which the residents may farm; outsiders wishing to do so must first obtain the permission of the village authorities.

Agriculture. According to Condominas, the dietary staple of the Mnong Gar is upland rice farmed in swiddens, and the site of the swidden is selected by divination.* (All forests of the Mnong Gar area have names; while Condominas was conducting his field research, the villagers were cutting swiddens in the Forest of the Stone Spirit Goo.) The cultivation period is only one year. Secondary crops include maize, bananas, beans, eggplant, manioc, taro, yams, sugar cane, cucumbers, gourds, oranges, mangos, limes, papayas, red chili peppers, ginger, and mushrooms. Cotton, indigo, and tobacco also are grown.

The Mnong Prong also cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden technique. Normally they will farm a field for three consecutive years and then leave it fallow for at least fifteen years. They also plant maize, bananas, cabbage, cucumbers, green beans, manioc, pine-apples, and gourds in the swiddens.

Wet rice is the staple of the Mnong Rlam, and is cultivated in extensive paddy fields in the vicinity

* Georges Condominas, Nous avons mangé la forêt, Paris, 1957, pp. 21-24, 201-234.

of Lac Thien. The Mnong Rlam do not work with plows, but use hoes to break the soil and then let buffalo tread on the lumps of earth. In preparing the seed beds, which are planted after the rains begin in April or May, they repeat this process until the soil is fine. The larger fields are prepared by the same method, but only once. When the seedlings have reached a height of about one foot, they are transplanted to the larger fields. Irrigation is done by scoops and baskets, and a system of dikes and canals controls the water levels. Several varieties of regular and glutinous rice are grown, and they normally take five months to mature. Only one crop is grown annually.

Maize is generally cultivated in separate fields, but bananas, sugar cane, pineapples, papaya, manioc, and yams are grown in the paddy fields. Kitchen gardens produce chilli peppers, cucumbers, green beans, tomatoes, lettuce, and tobacco. Areca palms and betel vines are found throughout the villages.

15. PACOH

Land tenure and agriculture. Among the Pacoh, upland dry rice and maize are staples, and both are cultivated by the swidden method. Every Pacoh village has a delimited territory (cruang is the Pacoh word for it) in which the residents farm, hunt, and fish. Sites for new swiddens are selected upon examination of the soil. The rice and maize crops are planted in separate parts of the same swidden. Planting takes place in the fourth lunar month, and the rice crop is ready to harvest in the ninth month. Secondary crops include manioc, taro, yams, cucumbers, gourds, squash, sugar cane, and tobacco.

16. RENGAO

Land tenure. The Rengao employ both the wet-rice and the swidden technique of cultivation, and they also farm permanent dry-rice fields. Paddy fields and permanent dry-rice fields are owned by individuals or families. Families traditionally cultivate the same swiddens, and those who clear an area are considered owners of the swidden, whether it is being farmed or is lying fallow.

Agriculture. When selecting the site of a new swidden, the Rengao inspect the color of the soil; they prefer a greyish soil to any other. Trees and brush are cut during the month of February, and the wood is left to dry for one month before being burned. Debris is gathered together and taken from the field in baskets. Planting begins after the rains have sufficiently moistened the soil. Some early types of rice are ready for harvesting in August, but the peak of the harvest is in November. Swidden use and fallowing periods vary with the soil. Near Kontum, the Rengao use a field for a maximum of three years, and then leave it fallow until a substantial new growth has appeared. In the vicinity of Dak Kong Peng, some 25 kilometers north of Kontum, however, the bamboo that predominates the flora grows very rapidly, permitting recultivation in alternate years.

In the vicinity of Kontum, some of the Rengao (like the neighboring Bahnar) farm permanent dry-rice fields along the banks of the Dak Bla river. With the help of cattle, they plow the fields after the rains have begun. Four-month rice is planted between rows of three-month maize. No fertilizer is used. The harvest begins in September.

Rengao paddy fields are few and small. Rain provides most of the needed water, and low dikes and narrow channels control water levels. The farmers prepare the fields with plows, using either cattle or water buffalo, and, after harrowing, broadcast the seeds.

In addition, the Rengao grow some manioc and green leafy vegetables, and also onions, papaya, and gourds, in garden plots adjacent to the dry rice fields. In the village, they cultivate cabbage, manioc, yams, and tobacco in kitchen gardens.

17. RHADE

Land tenure. The Rhadé have a matrilineal system, wherein the children take the family name of their mother and are members of her lineage, or matrisib, which is identified by a family name (e.g., Nie Kdam, Enoul, and H'dok). Subsibs, i.e., sections of the larger kin group, have traditional claim to given territories in the Rhadé area. Title to the subsib's territory rests with the eldest female of the senior line, who is called the po-lan (po meaning "proprietor; lan, "land"). Under Rhadé law the land is inalienable, and anyone desiring to cultivate within the territorial limits of a subsib must obtain the permission of the po-lan. Other responsibilities of the po-lan as guardian of the territory include periodic sacrifices and annual visits to the boundaries of the territory. In addition, she prescribes expiatory ritual sacrifices for violations of the territory, such as cutting wood without permission, which may anger the souls of the ancestors and cause misfortune. If it happens that there are no daughters in the direct line to inherit the role, a male may become po-lan, but his daughter will succeed him.

The rights and responsibilities of the po-lan are outlined in the Rhadé laws codified by Sabatier (1940), an outstanding Resident of Darlac province (a post corresponding to that of a Province Chief today). Although the po-lan system has broken down in some places -- for example, in the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot -- the Rhadé still consider it their traditional land-tenure system.

Agriculture. Where there is available bottom land, the Rhadé make paddy fields, some of which are sown in December and harvested in May or June. They are irrigated, but, when the rains begin, the excess water prevents a second planting. Other, higher fields are inundated by the rains, and are therefore planted in June or July, and harvested in November or December. Some Rhadé employ a plow and team of buffalo to prepare their fields, while others simply use a hoe to break the earth and then have buffalo trample on the soil to crush it. Low dikes and channels control the water levels. Seeds are germinated prior to planting by being soaked in water for four days. While most Rhadé broadcast their seeds, some have begun using the transplanting technique.

According to one French source, the cultivation of upland rice by the swidden technique accounts for 80 per cent of the Rhadé's subsistence.* The same source describes the selection of a new swidden by a combination of signs and omens; for example, the cry of a wild goat is a good omen. Rhadé villagers also report that they inspect the soil; red soil is thought good, while sandy soil is

* A. Maurice and G. Proux, "L'âme du riz," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises, Vol. 29, Saigon, 1954, pp. 129-258.

to be avoided. The felling of trees and cutting of brush take place during the dry season, between December and March, and the dried wood is burned in March. In the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot, three types of upland rice are cultivated: two that mature in three to four months, and one type that matures in five months. Planting is done after the rains begin, in April or May. After the rice is planted, secondary crops may be planted between the rows of seedlings or in a section of the swidden. The Rhadé Kpa cultivate their swiddens for from two to eight years, depending on the fertility of the soil. Each year, however, they cut and burn a new swidden, so that a family may farm up to five simultaneously, leaving them fallow as they manifest soil exhaustion.

The four varieties of rice that are considered the best are grown in new swiddens during the first year, because the Rhadé believe that they need particularly fertile soil. Only one type is grown in the second year, and the two varieties usually cultivated in the third and succeeding years are considered better for jar-wine preparation than for eating. The fallowing period for swiddens normally is from six to eight years.

Maize is grown in the swiddens and in the village gardens. The latter also produce yams, manioc, chili peppers, pumpkins, eggplant, cucumbers, gourds, lemon grass, and a variety of green leafy vegetables. Villagers also cultivate sugar cane, pineapples, jack fruit, guava, limes, bananas, areca, betel leaves, coconuts, coffee, and papaya. In their kitchen gardens they grow manioc, onions, long beans, and tobacco.

Cash crops: coffee In the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot, many of the Rhadé villagers cultivate cash crops, some of them on small estates. One of these is in the village of Buon Kosier, some three kilometers from the town. It is owned by a Rhadé named Y Ju Nie Kdam, who worked on the large Roussi coffee estate for twenty-two years, and for several more years as a male nurse in the province hospital. In 1945, with his savings, he bought land (the deed specified five hectares, although it was unsurveyed) from Y Ut Nie Buon Rit, a well-to-do resident of Buon Kosier, who was considered a local leader and had served as a member of the National Assembly during the Diem regime. (Y Ut was killed in a 1961 Viet Cong ambush.) With the purchase of coffeeplant seedlings of the robusta variety from his former employer and banana trees from villagers, Y Ju began his own estate. The fast-producing banana trees yielded some income until the coffee trees began to produce. At the present time, the estate has around 5,000 coffee trees and a large number of banana trees, as well as some pineapple plants. Because of limited funds, Y Ju must rely on members of his family to help the four hired female laborers tend the estate, and pick, dry, and husk the coffee berries. The entire crop is then sold to a Chinese merchant in Ban Me Thuot (who, in turn, transports most of it to the Saigon market). As part of a land-title distribution program in Buon Kosier in August 1965, Y Ju received a new title to his land, which specified three hectares, 600 metres. His ambition is to acquire more land so that he can enlarge the estate, and to find some means of transporting his produce to the Saigon market himself.

Petty commerce. There are Rhadé-owned small shops in some villages in the vicinity of Ban Me Thuot, and this kind of economic activity appears to be increasing. In 1959 a villager, upon returning from military service, opened a shop in Buon Ki, where he sells cooking oil (in small polyethylene bags), tobacco, cigarettes, dry cookies, candy, laundry soap, canned sardines, dried fish, nuoc mam, beer, rum, and soft drinks, and also notebooks, pens, and pencils for school children. Three other villagers soon opened similar shops, stocking the same line of goods. And in the first five months of 1966, three new general-goods shops were started by Rhadé residents of Buon Kosier. One proprietor is a former member of the Special Forces Strike Force; another is a refugee hamlet chief from Buon H'drah who owned no rice fields and therefore turned to petty commerce.

18. ROGLAI

Land tenure and agriculture. The staple of the Roglai is upland dry rice, cultivated by the swidden method. Roglai villages are relatively far apart, so that, as observers have pointed out, there is no need for village territories. Each household group farms its own swiddens, the size of which depends on the number of people in the family and the adjudged fertility of the soil. Fields usually are cultivated for three consecutive years, followed by very long fallowing periods.

Men fell the trees and women cut the brush. In the fourth lunar month, after the rains begin, rice planting is started, and it continues into the fifth and sixth months. The Roglai use no fertilizer. When the plants are about a foot high, the women weed the fields, and all

members of the household group join in the harvesting activities.

Maize is planted in separate swiddens or in a section of the rice swidden. Vegetables are grown on the edges of swiddens, sometimes between the rows of maize, and in kitchen gardens within the village. Vegetables include squash, gourds, and several kinds of beans. The Roglai also cultivate papaya, pineapple, jack fruit, and sometimes coconut, areca palms, and betel vines.

Commerce is little known. In villages at lower elevations, some of the Roglai occasionally carry bamboo and rattan to Vietnamese settlements, trading them for such essentials as salt, cloth, metal basins, and other household items.

19. SEDANG

Land tenure. Traditionally, the Sedang have territories (cheam beng) that belong to the villages located within them. Anyone desiring to practice agriculture within the territory must obtain permission from the elders of the village where he resides. A swidden is considered the property of the family farming it, and anyone wanting to farm a field that is lying fallow must seek the approval of the village elders and then compensate the owner.

Agriculture. The Sedang cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden technique. They look for black or greyish soil (in preference to red soil) and for places where the vegetation is thick. Men cut the trees, women and children cut the brush and grass, and the villagers assist one another with the burning so as to keep the fire under control. During the growing period, the fields are weeded several times. Harvesting, which involves all able-bodied

members of the family, usually begins in November. In addition to rice, the Sedang also cultivate maize, yams, bananas, sugar cane (planted in patches), pineapples, watermelons, and squash. Fields are farmed for two or three consecutive years, after which they lie fallow for a minimum of seven years, and usually ten years or more. Cotton is grown in separate fields. Kitchen gardens in the villages produce the vegetables and fruits listed above as well as eggplant, chili peppers, beans, and tobacco.

Specialization. Men make the tools, weapons (cross-bows, knives, and spears), farm tools (hoes, axes of various sizes), mats, and baskets used by the family. Women weave cloth. Metal-working is a specialization practiced by some men in every village, but only a few find sufficient demand for their products to make it a full-time specialization.

20. SRE

Land tenure. Where the Sre practice wet-rice cultivation, paddy fields are owned by individuals and families, and transmission of ownership rights is governed by the rules of inheritance. Where the swidden technique is used, the fields are considered the property of the family group that farms them, whether they are being planted or lying fallow. The Sre village has claim to a surrounding territory in which the residents enjoy the exclusive right to farm, hunt, and fish. Every village selects a Tom Bri (similar to the Tom Bri of the Ma people), who regulates the use of the land within the territorial boundaries. Thus, any outsider who desires to farm within the territory must obtain his permission, and any villager who wants to

clear a new swidden must ascertain from the Tom Bri that he is not encroaching on a fellow villager's fallow swidden.

Agriculture. In the vicinity of Di Linh (Djiring), the Sre have extensive paddy fields along the Donnai River. After the rains have softened the earth, the fields are plowed and harrowed twice with the aid of water buffalo, and the seeds are then broadcast. The Sre grow numerous varieties of wet rice, both regular and glutinous. In the eastern part of Lam Dong Province, some of them have begun transplanting their wet rice, a method they may have learned from Thai-speaking people who settled in the area after coming south as refugees in 1955.

Back in the hills, the Sre cultivate upland dry rice by the swidden method. They clear and burn the area during the dry season and plant after the rains begin. Cultivation and fallowing periods depend on the relative fertility of the soil.

21. STIENG

Land tenure and agriculture. The Stieng cultivate upland dry rice exclusively and by the swidden method. Fields, farmed or fallow, are the property of the household group that works them. The site of a new swidden is based on examination of the soil, and its size depends on the manpower available in the household group. When the rains come, the Stieng first plant maize in the swidden, and, when the maize plants begin to bud, they plant rice in alternating rows. Maize requires three months to mature. As for upland rice, the Stieng cultivate at least ten varieties, with growing periods of between three and five months. They judge the fertility of the soil by scrutinizing the first crop. As they clear a new swidden every

year, it is not uncommon for a household group to work three swiddens simultaneously. At the first sign of diminishing productivity, a field is left fallow. In addition, the Stieng grow manioc, pineapples, bananas, sugar cane, peanuts, sesame, and a wide variety of leafy green vegetables, both in the swiddens and in kitchen gardens.

Appendix G

Republic of Vietnam Saigon, November 24, 1964
Rural Affairs Ministry
No. 16,601b-BCTNT/HC/TC 3

CIRCULAR

Rural Affairs Minister to All Province Chiefs

Subject: Adjustment of illegal appropriation of public lands of private use for farming.

Reference: Our circular No. 13,157-BCTNT/HC/TC3, dated September 7, 1964.

Sirs:

Following our referenced letter, you are requested to carry out the following procedures on the regularization of illegal use of public lands for farming:

1. Provincial Administrative Office

To advise the population of the adjustment of their illegal use of public lands for farming by means of providing them concessionary ownership within the provincial abilities.

To explain thoroughly to the people the Government appropriation policy in their behalf.

Adjustment forms will be given by villages to concerned people (form enclosed), who have to place landmarks by themselves around their illegally cultivated lands.

To set up a time schedule, and inform villages thereof, for convoking involved farmers to contact directly the Land Survey Council, whose composition is defined as follows:

- a. Survey Team Leader - Chairman
- b. Village Councilman (1) - Member
- c. Representative of Involved Farmers (1) - Member
- d. Land Survey Team Member (1) - Secretary
(No right to decide)

The survey team will receive applications at the village and go out to the field, in the presence of involved farmers, following land marks for surveying.

Survey reports should contain the following:

- a. Actual cultivation or building areas; whether the land has been reclaimed by the concerned party, or whether the clearing and planting labor was duly bought, as well as other details relevant to the land involved. Land survey councilmen must write a report and submit it, along with adjustment requests and maps of land involved, to the province.
- b. Reports will be posted in the village for a two-month period in order that any protests can be duly registered in the complaint book. Reports must be written at the beginning and at the end of the notification period. People living in neighboring villages will be informed of the above notification by the district and province concerned.

The Provincial Appropriation and Clearing Council will hold meetings to consider every case. The Council's proposals and report will be submitted to the province for approval.

The province will be authorized by the Rural Affairs Ministry to sign decisions for free grant of concessions regarding illegally cultivated lands under 10 ha (decision form enclosed). These decisions will be submitted to the Rural Affairs Ministry for review prior to final approval.

2. The Land Survey Service

The Land Survey Service will be in charge of measuring public lands which have been illegally appropriated for farming, and of drawing maps. The Survey team leader will be chairman of the Land Inspection Council.

Land survey and map-drawing procedures will follow those used at Land Development Centers (Circulars No. 78-DD/CC/DB/TT, dated November 1, 1962, and No. 10,675-DD/CC/DE/CT1, dated September 11, 1963, of the Directorate General of Land Survey).

3. Rural Affairs Ministry

With regard to illegally cultivated lands of more than 10 ha, after the procedures defined in aforesaid items 1 and 2 have been carried out, the provinces must send dossiers of ensuing opinions and proposals to the Rural Affairs Ministry. These lands will be subject to grant of concession due to payment (after being sold either by mutual consent or by auction).

We call your attention to the following:

A. In case of illegal land appropriation for farming in reserved forests, the local Forestry Service must report to the Forestry Directorate in order to perform necessary reclassification procedures. The adjustment of illegally cultivated lands will be carried out only when reclassification is authorized by higher authorities.

B. The adjustment of the illegal use of public lands for farming is aimed at providing people with property ownership. Consequently, regularization must be based on the word of honor of the applicant requesting land concession. If the party concerned already has 5 ha of concessionary land, free concession will be made only for 5 ha more in his behalf. Areas of more than 10 ha each will be subject to grant of concession due to payment.

C. Attention should be paid to the people's taking advantage of this occasion to widen their illegally cultivated areas. Provinces are requested to issue a stern communiqué to prevent any attempt at increasing their land areas, and to refuse consideration of those cases of illegal public land appropriation for farming which occur after the issuance date of this circular.

D. The adjustment of illegally cultivated lands, mentioned in this circular, applies only to privately used rural lands belonging to the national public lands which have actually been cultivated or turned into living quarters plus garden. This circular does not apply to the illegal appropriation of lands for farming pertaining to public lands of public use, private lands of individuals, villages, provinces, municipalities, towns, and lands requisitioned on a provisional or definitive basis.

E. This circular cancels earlier Circular No. 4461-BCTNT/DD/CC/DN.1, dated April 11, 1963, on adjusting the illegally cultivated lands by letting them out to misappropriators, and Circular No. 4095-BCTNT/HC/TC3/TT,

dated March 25, 1964, regarding the paragraph dealing with the grant of provisional land concessions to misappropriators.

Yours truly,

/s/ Ngo-Ngoc-Doi
Chargé d'affaires of the
Directorate General of Land Survey

/s/ Nguyen-van-Trinh
Land Survey Engineer

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